

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE TIMES

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NOVEMBER
1917

NOVEMBER

HOW U. S. GOES TO WAR

WHAT WAS DONE IN 6 MONTHS

HAIG'S HAMMER STROKES

BLOODY BATTLES VIVIDLY DESCRIBED

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CHINA'S REVOLUTION

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TWO OF AMERICA'S MILITARY CHIEFS



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General Tasker H. Bliss, New Chief of Staff in the United States Army, (at left,) and
Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, His Predecessor, (at right.)

CURRENT HISTORY

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 19, 1917]

THE MONTH'S CHIEF DEVELOPMENTS

OCTOBER, 1917, witnessed a series of furious British drives in Flanders almost without a parallel in history. The result was a gain of a sector on the more elevated land lying east of Ypres. This gave the allied troops a strategic advantage in the disposition of their forces, which will be of great value in further thrusts; these are clearly in contemplation throughout the Winter. The French gave important assistance on the left flank, where they hold a small sector. There was almost continuous fighting along the Meuse, in the Verdun sector, without any material change in the lines. On the Austro-Italian front in the Julian Alps the gains made by the Italians on the Bainsizza Plateau were held; toward the end of October it was reported that forty new divisions of Germans and Austrians were being moved from the Russian front to resist the Italians. The Russians suffered a severe disaster by the loss of important islands in the Baltic, which gave the Germans control of that sea, to the imminent peril of the naval bases of Reval, Viborg, and Kronstadt, and with a serious possibility of a naval offensive against Petrograd itself. It was announced on Oct. 19 that on account of the imminence of German control of the Gulf of Riga the Russian Government was preparing to transfer the capital from Petrograd to Moscow. The British scored an important success in Mesopotamia by the capture of a small Turkish army northwest of Bagdad, making secure their occupation of that city.

The political situation developed important phases during the month. Exposures of the treachery of German diplomats in the United States and in Argentina brought several Latin-American States to the side of the Allies. The internal situation in Germany was profoundly disturbed by a growing opposition to the new Chancellor, the disclosure of a mutinous feeling in the German Navy, and the grave shortage in food and

fuel, which was becoming more acute on account of the rigid embargo on all cargoes to European neutrals.

The war preparations in the United States proceeded with almost feverish speed, on a scale of magnitude heretofore unknown in history; it was reported toward the end of October that over 100,000 American troops were already in France and that fully 500,000 would be there by Spring. The Second Liberty Loan campaign was vigorously prosecuted, and two billions had been subscribed by Oct. 20.

* * *

GOVERNMENT INSURANCE FOR SOLDIERS

THE Soldiers Insurance bill, as finally adopted, makes all officers and men and women in both branches of the service eligible; the policies range from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and the age limit is 15 to 65. The premium is based on age: a man of 30 on a \$1,000 policy pays 69 cents a month, &c. The policy is payable in monthly installments to the insured, if wholly disabled, and to the heirs at his death. The premiums are payable monthly and will be deducted from pay unless instructed to contrary; failure to pay within 31 days after a premium is due forfeits the policy, but insured may be reinstated within 6 months. The following persons may be named as beneficiaries: Husband, wife, child, both legitimate and illegitimate; adopted child, grandchild, father, mother, grandparents, step-parents, brother, sister, of the half as well as whole blood.

* * *

A HISTORIC SESSION OF CONGRESS

ONE of the most memorable sessions of the United States Congress was that which ended on Oct. 6, 1917. This, the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, began by special call on April 2, and the same evening heard President Wilson's address recommending a declaration of war. More legislation of the

most far-reaching order was passed than in any previous session, while the appropriations ran to billions of dollars. This session will be historical as definitely marking the great transformation of the Republic, with its early ideas of avoiding entangling alliances, into a mighty world power fully and frankly recognizing that its interests are as wide as humanity itself. No one has been better aware of this development of the nation than President Wilson, as can be gathered from several of his utterances before circumstances drove him to the conclusion that the United States could no longer remain a neutral. And not the least interesting feature of the session has been the extraordinary ascendancy which the President established over Congress, receiving authority for practically every war measure he demanded, and successfully resisting those he deemed inadvisable.

* * *

BELGIUM'S FIGHTING STRENGTH

THE Belgian Army on Oct. 17, 1917, consisted of the following: One hundred and twenty thousand men on the 25-mile Belgian firing line; back of the line, 100,000 more Belgian troops in training or reserve; back of these, a fully equipped munitions system and base and transport organization. In Belgian munition factories, in France or England, operated by Belgian managers and worked by Belgian women, children, and wounded men, a large part of the supplies for the army are produced. As Belgium can no longer levy taxes in her own territory, she has been financed by loans from Britain, France, and the United States, which is lending her \$7,500,000 a month. In Africa the Belgian flag waves over the Congo territory and a Belgian army of 43,000 natives, commanded by Belgian officers, has conquered from Germany 180,000 square miles. At the outbreak of the war Belgium had only 30,000 regulars and 150,000 national guardsmen.

* * *

FORMER RUSSIAN OFFICIALS IN PRISON
IN the Troubetskoi Bastion of the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at Petrograd, where for two centuries have been immured regicides, nihilists, bomb

throwers, and victims of autocratic tyranny, are now interned eight conspicuous Russian figures, viz.: General Rennenkampff, who carries a black record for his tyranny and injustice toward the 1906 revolutionists; M. Bieletsky, former Director of Police and accomplice of agents provocateur; the reactionary former Minister of the Interior, M. Makaroff, who caused the election of a burglar to the Duma to act as a spy; former Minister of Justice J. Tscheglovitoff, whom the late Count Witte characterized as the "most clever, most corrupt man in Europe"; Prince Alexander Dolgorukoff, the cavalry commander seized last month as a supporter of General Korniloff; General Voyeikoff, the former Emperor's palace commandant, and, finally, Alexander Protopopoff, once classed as a patriotic member of the Duma, next an oppressive Minister of the Interior, and last the ally and slave of Rasputin.

* * *

BRITAIN'S RELIANCE UPON THE UNITED STATES

AT a dinner tendered to Congressman Medill McCormick in London, Sept. 12, Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, acting as representative of the Prime Minister, referred to the entrance of the United States into the war in these words:

I see it constantly stated in German newspapers that that is the last hope of the Allies. We do rely upon the Americans, and with good reason, for I, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, am ready to say now what I should have been very sorry to admit six months ago, that without the aid of the United States the financial position of the Allies would have been in a very disastrous situation today. We have reason to be grateful for the readiness of the help which has been given by our allies on the other side of the water in this respect. But, though we rely upon the United States, that does not mean that we are ceasing our own efforts.

Nothing that has been said by Mr. McCormick in his very eloquent speech gave me so much pleasure as the statement coming from an observer from the outside of what the United Kingdom has done in this war. I think that it is a record of which not only we who have seen it have reason to be proud, but a record upon which those who come after us will dwell as the brightest page in the long history

of the British Empire. I know of no previous war in which this country has been engaged where on the whole the people have supported right and left, thick and thin, the vigorous prosecution of the struggle. On all previous occasions, as, indeed, now, there were parties—there have been peace parties—but never before in our history has the voice of faction been so little heard as in the great struggle in which we now are engaged.

* * *

JAPAN'S FINANCIAL AID TO THE ALLIES

THE announcement that the Russian Provisional Government had obtained a credit of 66,667,000 yen (about \$33,333,500) in Japan through the sale of that amount of treasury bills to the Japanese Government was made in a cablegram received on Oct. 8 by Akira Den, financial commissioner of the Japanese Government in New York. The issue bears interest at 6 per cent. and runs for one year. Japan took the Russian securities at par. The proceeds will be used by Russia in paying for munitions of war bought in Japan. The willingness of Japan to grant this loan arose partly from confidence in the new régime in Russia and partly as a consequence of the United States embargo on gold exports. Japan had recently been a heavy importer of gold, much of it being used to meet Russian obligations in Japan. When the gold embargo became effective, Japan found it advantageous to grant new credits to Russia. According to official figures, Japan has loaned the allied Governments approximately 500,000,000 yen (about \$250,000,000) since the war began. A total of 221,667,000 yen in Russian Treasury bills has been sold in Japan. The British Government has sold 100,000,000 yen of Exchequer bonds to the Japanese, and a total of 76,000,000 yen of French Treasury bills has also been sold in Japan. Of these loans the British Exchequer bonds, amounting to 100,000,000 yen, were paid in American money.

* * *

SOME INSTANCES OF INTERNATIONAL TREACHERY

THE questionable activities of Bernstorff and Luxburg have had their historic parallels. Bethmann Hollweg's

was not the first "scrap of paper." A noteworthy instance is that which Bismarck brazenly related of himself, in telling how he tricked Napoleon III. into war in 1870. There was a question of putting a Hohenzollern on the throne of Spain. France protested. The French envoy at Ems had an interview with the King of Prussia, afterward Kaiser Wilhelm I. of Germany. The King's secretary telegraphed an account of the interview to Bismarck, his Prime Minister, on July 13, 1870. Moltke was with Bismarck, deeply despondent; Bismarck, talking of the German sense of honor, deliberately altered the telegram, turning it, as Moltke said, from a parley into a challenge, and gave it to the press. It instantly aroused France and brought on the war. Bismarck explains his motives: "It is important that we should be the ones attacked!" The story is told at length, with the telegram as sent, and as falsified, in "Bismarck the Man and Statesman."

A notable act of treachery was committed by Austria, one among many, at the time of the Crimean war, 1854. Nicholas I. of Russia, in part through sympathy for the oppressed Slavs in Hungary, sent an army, in 1849, to crush Kossuth's Magyar republic and save the power of the Hapsburgs. Five years later, when Russia was in danger, Austria cynically refused to help her and secretly aided Russia's enemies.

The violation of the Pragmatic Sanction is a historic case of perfidy. Prussia had consented, by that agreement, to support the succession of an Austrian Princess, Maria Theresa. But no sooner did she come to the throne, on the death of her father, Emperor Charles VI., than Frederick II. of Prussia, "Old Fritz in the Elysian Fields," as his successor recently called him, broke his oath and seized the Austrian province of Silesia, thus plunging the world into war. In the matter of the Danish Duchies, Schleswig and Holstein, Bismarck was guilty of signal treachery toward both Denmark and Austria, for, while both Austria and Denmark had certain claims to the Duchies, Prussia, which seized them after two predatory wars, had no real rights there.

OESEL AND DAGÖ ISLANDS

ON Oct. 15 it was announced from Petrograd that German forces had two days previously landed on Oesel and Dagö Islands, at the northeast end of the Gulf of Riga, after bombarding the land forts, and had silenced the Russian batteries and occupied Arensburg, the capital of Oesel. This action really put Oesel and Dagö on the map, bringing them into prominence for the first time since the twenty years' war between Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the Great, the maker of modern Russia. This long war, in which Peter deliberately set himself to learn Charles's strategy by being beaten by him, was closed by the Treaty of Nystad, on Sept. 10, 1721, which gave the two islands, with the contiguous mainland, to Russia. They had belonged to Sweden since 1645; for nearly a century before that date, namely, since 1559, they had belonged to Denmark.

Russia is so large, and the maps of Russia are consequently on so small a scale, that these two islands are almost invisible on a general map of the Russian Empire. But Oesel is of considerable size, about 1,000 square miles, or as large as the State of Rhode Island; Dagö is one-third as large, or 364 square miles. Their distance from Petrograd is about equal to the distance from New York to Washington. Arensburg, famous for its sea bathing, has monuments of both the Swedish and the Russian occupations, and also a large Lutheran church. It has 5,000 inhabitants, Oesel having in all about 62,000 inhabitants, while Dagö has 16,000. Both islands are flat, formed —like Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard—largely of glacial drift dotted with erratic boulders and glacial lakes; but Oesel has high chalk cliffs on the northern coast. Large areas of both islands are covered by pine forests, but considerable areas bear good crops of grain, flax, hemp, and roots. Oesel is also famous for a breed of small, very hardy horses.

The population in both islands is predominantly Estonian, akin to the Finns, and many of the old national customs and traditions of the Estonians, with their national dress, are preserved, untouched by Swedish or Russian influence. The climate of the islands is healthy, and

milder than the mainland, and Arensburg, on the south shore of Oesel, is a summer resort for the people of Riga.

* * *

THE CAUSES OF HOLLAND'S NEUTRALITY

HOLLAND is ostensibly neutral, because she has so much to fear from both sides. She refrains from hostility to Germany for three reasons: sympathy, pecuniary advantage, and the dread of a German invasion. The Court is strongly pro-German; Queen Wilhelmina, whose mother was a Princess of Waldeck, married, in 1901, Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. They have one daughter, Princess Juliana Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina, the heir to the crown of the Netherlands. Self-interest further holds Holland to Germany; she has made immense sums by selling food to the German army and civil population, creating a new class, nicknamed "goulash barons." She is further in dread of German invasion; it has been notorious for many months that Germany has strong forces on the Dutch frontier, ready to strike; and, while the Dutch army is mobilized, there are no strong fortresses, though Holland could defend a part of her territory by cutting the dikes and flooding a large area, leaving North and South Holland, with parts of Zeeland and Utrecht, practically impregnable. But this would mean the ruin and desolation of a great part of her territory.

Holland has equally strong reasons for not declaring war on the Entente. Her immense colonies, in both the Eastern and the Western Hemisphere, lie open to attack by the English fleet. These colonies amount to about 740,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000 in the Dutch East Indies; with Dutch Guiana, or Surinam, in South America, in area 46,000 square miles, but very sparsely populated, having about two inhabitants to the square mile. Dutch Guiana has already been twice in English hands—during the Napoleonic wars—but most of it was restored to Holland in 1814 and 1815. There are also the islands of which Curaçao is the chief, in area 400 square miles, with a dense population of 56,000. During the Napoleonic wars, England's sea power completely dominat-

ed the then immense colonial empire of Holland. British Guiana, South Africa, and the Dutch East Indies were all taken by England at that time, though the greater part of the East Indies was later restored to Holland; England, however, holding the Straits Settlements, with Singapore.

The fear of losing the still vast remnant of a much vaster colonial empire effectually prevents Holland from making common cause with Germany and declaring war against England and her allies. There is also the deep-rooted patriotism of the Netherlanders, who know that, once on Germany's side, they would practically cease to be an independent nation.

* * *

POLAND'S NEW CONSTITUTION

BY a decree issued Sept. 15, 1917, that part of Poland which was taken from Russia has been granted by the Emperors of Germany and Austria a new Constitution. This new Constitution is distinguished from the former by two things: 1. It gives part of Poland a full State apparatus—a Council of Regency of three Persons to fulfill the functions of a King, a Ministry, and a Council of State. 2. It gives also this new Polish Government certain legislative powers. The former Council of State was merely a consultative body.

The legislative powers of the new body can only make laws within the restricted domain assigned to it by the German and Austrian Governments, and even within this domain the Governor General has the right of veto if he protests within fourteen days. This Government is not allowed to have any voice whatever in foreign affairs. The most important State functions are kept in the hands of the German authorities.

The new Government does not have national sovereignty, as it is nominated by Germany and Austria, and it can exercise only local self-government.

* * *

ALSACE AND LORRAINE IN THE WAR

IT is stated on good authority that more than 30,000 men of Alsace and Lorraine have fought under the French flag; five Generals from the lost prov-

inces have been killed in action while fighting for France, to wit: Generals Sibille, Dupuy, Dion, Trumelet-Faber, and Stirn. Since the beginning of hostilities German courts-martial sitting in the annexed provinces have inflicted sentences totaling five thousand years' imprisonment on citizens of Alsace and Lorraine, whose offense has been the expression of opinions favorable to France.

Since Alsace and Lorraine were annexed by Germany in 1871 until the outbreak of the war in 1914 no fewer than 500,000 of the inhabitants of the provinces, according to official figures, have migrated to France. Immediately after the declaration of war, three years ago, every one of real Alsatian or Lorraine origin who could find a way to do so made a hurried departure over the frontier line. Hundreds of those remaining, owing to their inability to leave in time, were at once seized as suspects and sent to prison or internment camps, where they have been kept in confinement for three years.

* * *

SOUTH AMERICA IN TWO WORLD WARS

THE general alignment of the South American nations against Germany in the present world war brings to mind that it was the last world war, a century ago, which brought these Latin republics into existence. The beginning was made when Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal drove the Portuguese royal house to its great colony in Brazil, in 1807; there its members continued to reign, though as an independent empire, until Nov. 15, 1889, when Dom Pedro II. was compelled to abdicate. The second step was taken when Simon Bolivar, who had studied Spanish tyranny in Madrid, revolution in Paris, and democracy in the United States, joined the insurrection at Caracas in April, 1810. On May 25, 1810, the people of the Argentine rose against Spanish rule, declaring their independence on July 9, 1816. Chile declared its independence in September, 1810. Paraguay followed in 1811. In the House of Commons Canning took up the cause of the new republics, declaring that he "had called a new world into existence, to redress the balance of the

old"; that "France may get Spain, but she will not get the Spanish colonies." Great Britain then formally recognized the Empire of Brazil and the republics of Mexico and Colombia. In 1832, after civil war, Colombia was divided into three independent States—Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Peru became independent in 1821, and on Dec. 2, 1823, Monroe made the celebrated declaration which completed the work of recognition begun by Canning. In 1825 Bolivia and Uruguay came into separate existence; the latter had belonged to Brazil. Thus it was the French invasion of the peninsula, with the consequent weakening of the Spanish monarchy, which gave the South American nations their chance to spring into independent life. England first recognized and supported them, as an act of hostility to Napoleon. The United States, thirteen years later, confirmed and completed that recognition.

* * *

SWEDISH PRO-GERMANISM AND BERNADOTTE

THE marked German sympathies of the Swedish Court are a legitimate heritage from the founder of the present dynasty, Marshal Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's most famous warriors, who deserted him and went over to Prussia. Bernadotte had been jealous of Bonaparte from the beginning; and when the great Corsican was named First Consul, Bernadotte, the ambitious son of a Paris lawyer, became openly hostile, and took part in a plot to overthrow the dictator. This was in 1802.

After the French Nation, by an almost unanimous plébiscite, had confirmed Napoleon in power, an outward reconciliation took place between the two men, and Bernadotte was given the command of considerable armies. In 1809 he was in command of a mixed force in Jutland. At that time, Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who, a few months earlier, had ceded Finland to Alexander I. of Russia, had made himself so unpopular that he was compelled to abdicate, being succeeded by the aged and childless Charles XIII. The leaders of Sweden offered the succession of the throne, with the title of Crown Prince, to

Bernadotte, who went through the form of asking Napoleon's consent.

This renewed the old quarrel between them, and when the retreat from Moscow laid Napoleon open to attack, the new Crown Prince of Sweden was found among the enemies of the French Emperor. He fought on the Prussian side against Napoleon at Dennewitz and Leipzig, and hoped to be named King of France on Napoleon's first abdication and exile to Elba. He was disappointed, but five years later, in 1818, the aged Charles XIII. died, and Bernadotte succeeded to the crown of Sweden, living until 1844, when he died at the age of eighty. He reigned under the title of Charles XIV., and King Gustav V., the present King of Sweden, is his great-grandson, the dynasty being called the House of Ponte Corvo, from the Duchy conferred upon Bernadotte by Napoleon.

* * *

THE PROBLEM OF MODERN CHINA

EVER since the great epoch of State Socialism in the Sung dynasty, China has been the weakest of great nations. So completely was the Middle Kingdom enfeebled by the pacifism of that Socialist period, that for the greater part of the intervening period, the Chinese have been ruled by foreign conquerors, first the Mongols and later the Manchus, with the native dynasty of the Mings between. Ever since the conquest by the Manchus, in 1644, China has been a land of contradictions, at once the most democratic and the most autocratic country in the world. The saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God" has existed in China for 3,000 years. There is no hereditary nobility, if we except the descendants of the sage, Confucius, who are held in especial honor. All Government posts are filled, and have for many centuries been filled, by open examinations, based on a study of the national literature, and no Government official has ever had the power to pass his position on to his children. The sense of equality is, perhaps, greater and has always been greater in China than in any other land. Yet, for all their democracy of feeling, the Chinese have been governed by an absolute autocracy, the mili-

tary autocracy of the conquering Manchus, whose fighting men have garrisoned all the fortified cities of China. So, while China has had an army it has been, since 1644, a foreign army; the Chinese themselves have not been trained to arms. In all probability the desire to remedy this age-long weakness, to give China a strong national army, has been one of the controlling motives which have decided China to enter the world war; for a strong national army would mean a new lease of life to the oldest and most numerous of nations, a nation which has survived from the days of the ancient Chaldeans and the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

* * *

MOTHERLAND VS. DOMINIONS

THE British Government refutes the story that large numbers of trained soldiers fit for service are kept in idleness in the United Kingdom while the troops from the Dominions are at the front. In an official statement it is explained that of every six British soldiers fighting at the front, at least five were recruited in the United Kingdom. With reference to casualties, the statistics show that the percentage has been higher among the troops from the United Kingdom than among the Dominion troops. The figures in the four series of battles on the Somme, around Arras, Ypres and at Messines Ridge are as follows:

DIVISIONS ENGAGED

	Motherland.	Dominions.
Somme	5	to 1
Arras	3½	to 1
Ypres	7	to 1
Messines	2	to 1

CASUALTIES PER DIVISION

	Motherland.	Dominions.
Somme	5	to 4
Arras	7	to 6
Ypres	5	to 1
Messines	11	to 13

* * *

WHAT ITALY HAS DONE

GENERAL GIARDINO, Italian Minister of War, reviews Italy's efforts in part as follows:

With regard to the theatre of war, our front, which measures four hundred and six miles, is about equal to those of the French, English, and Belgian armies combined, and, even if a large part of this is

mountainous, that does not permit of greatly decreasing the density of the troops in consequence of the outline of the frontier and the immediate neighborhood of regions of capital importance for us, rendering it absolutely indispensable for us to be everywhere perfectly secure.

Indeed, the frontier line among the high mountains has required greater labors for the construction of roads, lodgings for the troops, fortifications, &c., and has called for a greater intensification of services than would have been needed in the plains.

Altitudes of over 10,000 feet have been reached not only by mountain artillery but also by field guns, and even by numerous siege batteries, so it will be obvious what an enormous expenditure of labor is required for the construction of roads and shelters under such conditions and for supplying the tens of thousands of quadrupeds needed, and for the transport on men's shoulders of all that is essential in order to live and fight at heights which cannot be reached even by mules.

For all this admirable effort Italy has mobilized twenty-six classes, that is to say, over 4,200,000 men, who have been almost entirely employed as fighting units to keep up the numbers required and replace losses. In the last splendid action she succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line in a section of capital strategic importance despite the Austrians' more favorable position, and thus striking a blow the vigor of which is proved by its reper- cussion on the entire group of enemy na- tions.

* * *

FAMOUS COMMANDERS TRIED FOR TREASON

THE trial and sentence of General Soukhomlinoff, who was Minister of War in Russia when the great war broke out, bears many resemblances to the trials of two famous commanders—the Englishman, Admiral Byng, and the Frenchman, Marshal Bazaine. When Frederick the Great of Prussia, turning the Pragmatic Sanction into a scrap of paper, robbed Maria Theresa of a part of her inheritance, England and France took opposite sides in the quarrel, which developed into the Seven Years' War, and thus led to the great struggle between France and England, in America and India. Admiral Byng was, in 1756, in command of the English Channel Fleet. Minorca was threatened by a French force from Toulon, and Byng was sent to drive back the French and relieve the garrison of Fort St. Philip, the chief stronghold in Minorca. He sailed, ex-

pecting defeat and already determined to give up the attempt, if there was any considerable resistance. He fought a losing battle against the French, and sailed home after only four days. Public opinion in England universally condemned him. He was tried for treason and shot on March 14, 1757, within a few weeks of Clive's great victory at Plassey, in Bengal.

The distinguished French General, Marshal Bazaine, had commanded the French forces of Napoleon in Mexico, during the short and tragic reign of Emperor Maximilian, younger brother of the late Francis Joseph of Austria; in Mexico, Bazaine had been involved in many intrigues, and was even accused of trying to gain the crown of Mexico, largely to please his young Mexican wife. On his return to France he was given high command by Napoleon III., and led a French army of 140,000 at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war. His movements were incredibly slow and indecisive, and he finally took refuge in the fortress of Metz, where he began a treasonable correspondence with the Prussians, many details of which have never been completely cleared up. To Bismarck he proposed "to save France from herself." Marshal MacMahon was on his way to relieve Metz when he was surrounded and disastrously beaten at Sedan, and shortly after Bazaine surrendered with his whole army. It is said that, had he held out only a week longer, the French could have defeated the weak German force on the Loire and marched to the relief of Paris. Bazaine returned from Prussian captivity, and in 1873 was put on trial, condemned, first to death, and later to exile for life. He was sent to the Island of Sainte Marguerite, close to Cannes, but escaped, first to Italy and later to Madrid, where Alfonso XII. of Spain welcomed and honored him. Marshal Bazaine died in 1888.

Concerning Soukholinoff, while it seems certain that he was guilty of grave dereliction of duty in the matter of military secrecy, his friends assert that in many ways he was a model War

Minister. Bark, the Russian Minister of Finance, testified, in the *Petit Parisien*, that the Russian mobilization at the beginning of August, 1914, "went off with a regularity which surpassed all expectation," and many critics defend the view of Soukholinoff, that modern fortresses are an element of weakness rather than of strength, being effectively superseded by temporary trenches.

* * *

STATISTICS furnished by the French and British authorities to the American-British-French-Belgian Permanent Blind Relief War Fund show that there are in England, France, and Belgium more than 3,000 soldiers who have been totally blinded in the war and nearly 25,000 blinded in one eye, a large proportion of whom will eventually lose the sight of the other as the result of shock or of the wounds themselves. In addition, there are in France alone nearly 200 who, besides losing both eyes, have also suffered, by explosions or amputation, the loss of both arms or both legs, or a leg and a hand, and in many cases have been rendered stone deaf.

* * *

KUHARA FUSANOSUKE, head of the Kuhara Mining Company, one of the richest men of Japan, will erect a gigantic shipbuilding enterprise, to rival the great industrial City of Essen. He will acquire 1,500,000 tsubo of land, and there establish an industrial city, with a population of 200,000. Over thirty separate workshops are to be built, and nearly 35,000 workmen will be employed.

* * *

IN the six months ended Sept. 30, 1917, the revenue income of the United Kingdom was \$1,276,110,200, an increase over the corresponding six months of 1916 of about \$500,000,000, of which \$280,000,000 was excess profits tax, \$75,000,000 property and income tax. The total annual revenue of the United Kingdom is now over \$2,600,000,000; the expenditure chargeable against revenue is at the rate of \$12,000,000,000 per annum.

Military Events of the Month

From September 18 to October 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

The Battle of Flanders

AFTER a pause of more than a month the battle of Flanders, which is rapidly losing its designation as the third battle of Ypres, has been renewed by the Allies with redoubled fury. Meanwhile, they had evidently solved to their satisfaction the problem set them by the Germans early in September, when the civil population of several towns of the Flanders plain were ordered to leave their homes. Between the 20th of September and the middle of October the periodic assaults made on the front southeast, east, and northeast of Ypres forced into the enemy's lines a new salient of far greater proportions than that eliminated last Summer.

German military critics believe that it reveals a desire on the part of the Allies to gain the coast, where the submarine bases of Ostend and Zeebrugge are in operation, and where intervening dunes conceal the aerodromes whence attacks are made upon England. English and French critics rather favor the idea of an encircling movement of Lille from the north. According to the military results themselves, either objective—or both—would be logical. The complete occupation of the high ground, the so-called Passchendaele Ridge, which runs like a series of mounds northeast, would command the lowlands to the coast, almost parallel to it, twenty-odd miles away. The possession of the road to Menin with the town itself would seriously threaten Lille or at least deprive it of one of its most important railway connections.

In detail the engagements of the month have been characterized by the "tank" vs. the concrete "pill box," and by counterattacks broken up by the low-altitude fire of swarms of Anglo-French aviators. The losses to the enemy are known to have been prodigious, while those of the

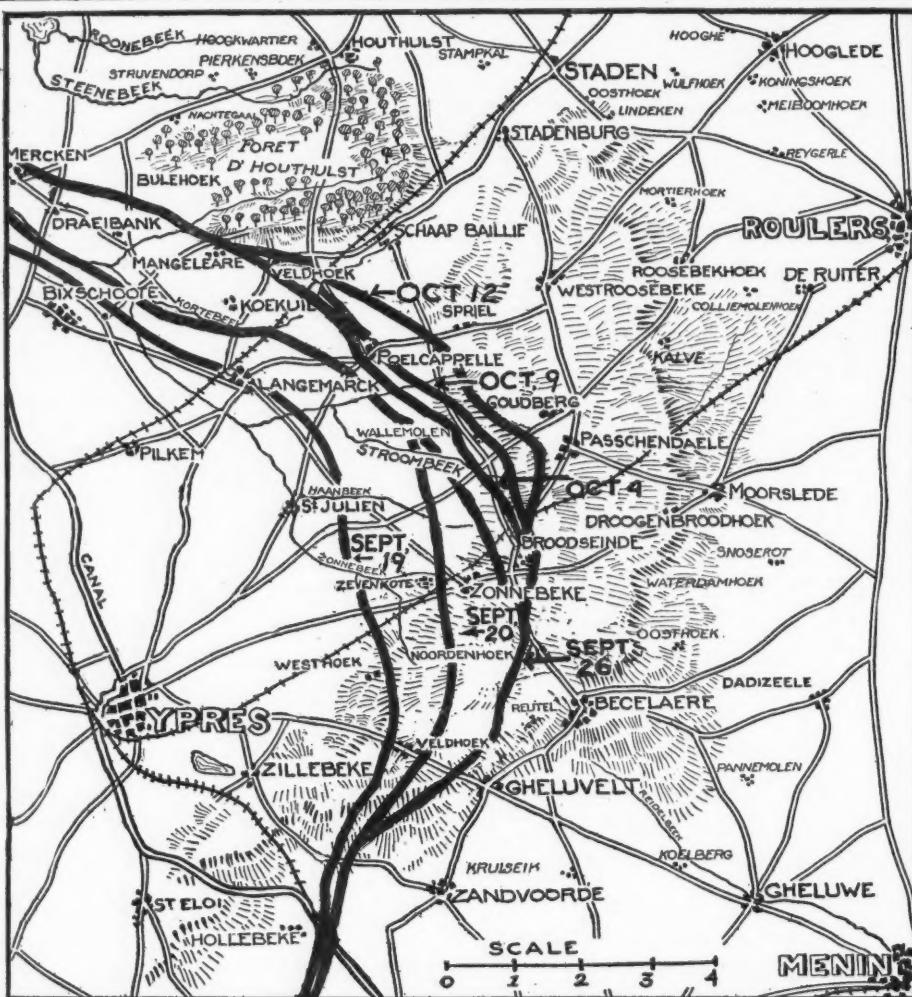
Allies have been comparatively light—demonstrating the thorough artillery preparation before attack, and the varied and ingenious methods of throwing back counterattacks.

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig opened the ball on Sept. 20, with many and sundry extras on Sept. 26. These efforts appeared to have for their objective the control of the Ypres-Menin road. Then came similar and well-defined operations further north along the ridge, in which he was assisted by the French of Pétain—Oct. 4, 9, and 12. Most of the attacks were begun at sunrise, and before noon had usually reached their objectives, and, not infrequently, consolidated the positions won.

Meanwhile, formidable and almost daily naval and aerial attacks were being launched against Ostend and Zeebrugge, and aerial attacks against the aerodromes of the dunes. On Sept. 22 a German counterattack from the air over Ostend resulted in the loss of three enemy seaplanes; on the night of Sept. 27 British naval aircraft raided the Zeebrugge lock-gates, submarine docks, and the aerodromes at St. Denis-Westrem, Goutrude, and Houttave. On Sept. 30 the photographs of a similar raid revealed well-defined loss to the enemy. All these raids seemingly lend color to the dictum of the German critics that the coast is the main objective of the battle of Flanders.

Fighting for Polygon Wood

The attack of Sept. 20 began precisely at 5:40 A. M. on an eight-mile front, between the Ypres-Comines Canal and the Ypres-Staden Railway. The North Country regiments carried Inverness Copse; the Australians, Glencorse Wood and Nonne Boshen; the Scottish and South African brigades, Potsdam,



MAP SHOWING BRITISH GAINS IN FLANDERS, STROKE BY STROKE, GIVING THEM CONTROL OF THE HIGH GROUND KNOWN AS PASSCHENDAELE RIDGE

Vampir, and Borry Farms; the West Lancashire Territorials, Iberian Farm and the concrete pile known as Gallipoli. All these points were reached in the élan of the attack. Then, on the right, the English county troops proceeded with sharply contested advance to their final objectives in the woods north of the Ypres-Comines Canal and in the neighborhood of Tower Hamlets; in the centre the North Country and Australian battalions fought on for over a mile, enveloping the southern hamlet of Veldhoek and the western portion of Polygon Wood. This was the greatest penetration. All was done according to

schedule, almost on schedule time. Before the morning was over a number of local German counterattacks had been broken up and the British troops were resting.

On the 22d strong German counterattacks were launched and repulsed, save on a small section on the right. These repulses were principally accomplished by the low-altitude firing of the British airmen, some 300 machines being engaged. Three days later the Germans won a temporary gain on Passchendaele Ridge near Polygon Wood.

Then on the 26th came the second smashing drive on a six-mile front with

from a half mile to a mile depth. South of the Ypres-Menin road the English home troops completed the capture of the Tower Hamlets Spur, and gained their objective—the German concrete works on its further slope. In the centre some companies of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders met with a stubborn resistance, so that the assault further north was carried into the afternoon, with the Australians clearing the remainder of Polygon Wood and the English, Scottish, and Welsh battalions accomplishing their remote objective—Zonnebeke, a mile away. On the extreme left the North Midland and London Territorials reached their objectives on both sides of the Wieltje-Gravenstafel and St. Julien-Gravenstafel roads. This advance reached half a mile through a maze of fortified farms and concrete redoubts.

Almost simultaneously the Germans had launched seven heavy counterattacks, which, carried into the following day, nevertheless left the British in full possession of their objectives—with light losses to them but with heavy losses to the enemy.

British Win Main Ridge

The attack of Oct. 4 began at 10:35 on a front of over eight miles from south of Tower Hamlets to the Ypres-Staden Railway, north of Langemarck. It gave the British possession of the main ridge up to 1,000 yards north of Broodseinde. The weather prevented further advance, as it doubtless did counterattacks on the part of the enemy, although a few were attempted in the afternoon southeast of Polygon Wood. In this attack the French protected the British right. Evidently a more formidable drive had been prepared; as it was, the British losses were light, and the German heavy, including, since Sept. 20, 10,000 prisoners.

The main strength of the two subsequent attacks—Oct. 9 and Oct. 12—was also directed over the Passchendaele Ridge. Meanwhile, it was learned from prisoners that the attack of the 4th had anticipated a fierce German assault by half an hour, during which time the barrage fire of the British had unconsciously wrecked five divisions of the Germans,

massed for the advance which never took place.

On the 9th the operations extended over a front of ten miles. The French, on the north, pierced the German positions to a depth of a mile and a quarter, capturing the villages of St. Jean de Mangelaere and a northern hamlet of Veldhoek, with numerous intervening concrete redoubts. The British drove to a depth of a mile and a half, going beyond Poelcapelle. This operation put the English and French within long-range gunshot of Roulers and gave them the principal heights of the ridge commanding the plain of Flanders.

With the advance of the 9th it became geographically, if not strategically, obvious that another drive of similar magnitude would unlock the German front from Bixschoote to the sea. Such a drive, however, did not at once occur. The three hours' assault in the early morning of the 12th, succeeded by a consolidation of positions on the 13th, brought the Allies on a six-mile front to within 500 yards of the town of Passchendaele. Rain then brought operations temporarily to a standstill.

Results of Five Engagements

The foregoing five engagements have carried the Allies to the Ypres-Roulers road on the northeast, and to the neighborhood of Passchendaele, a distance of a little over three miles; they have gained nearly a mile to the southeast over the Ypres-Menin road; the area covered includes about twenty-three square miles. Their losses have been comparatively light, according to official bulletins and reports of eyewitnesses, while those of the Germans, particularly when their attempted offensives have been prematurely assailed and in their counterattacks, have been correspondingly large. Indeed, the slaughter of the Germans surprised in mass formations has been compared to their most fatal days before Verdun.

The second stage of the month's fighting in Flanders, over the commanding Passchendaele Ridge, has been compared by some critics to the decisive battle of the Marne. It is hardly that, but rather the occupation of commanding positions,

from which such a decisive battle may be developed.

The ground occupied by the Allies has revealed several interesting things, uncovered several German secrets. More and more are the Germans abandoning their patent and marvelously perfected system of trenches for purposes of defense; more and more are they relying on the concrete redoubt, called the "pill box," which is easily observed by the French and British airmen, and almost as easily blown to pieces by accuracy of their artillery fire—the survivors are left to the "tanks." Again, it has been observed that three out of five of the German shells thrown fail to explode. An examination of them has revealed poor substitutes for metal caps and priming. Many of their high explosive shells detonate without great concussion, and in a cloud of black smoke, like the burning of common gunpowder. Individual initiative on the part of officers below the rank of Colonel is becoming very rare. Small detachments group for surrender, rarely for a last stand. All this eloquently betrays the waning morale of the enemy.

Germans Control Gulf of Riga

When the Germans occupied Riga in the first week of September it was obvious that this port could be of little use to them unless they also controlled the waters of the Gulf of Riga, on the eastern shores of which troops might be disembarked for a land investment of the Russian naval base of Reval. For, although it was quite out of the question to expect Germany, with her depleted man power, to deploy through the 300-odd miles necessary to reach Petrograd, yet the same object might be attained by the Gulf of Finland if only the protected ports of the southern shore could be eliminated. Landing parties, not necessarily permanent, would be required to attack these ports from the shore side, and work along the coast under the guns of warships. But where could these detachments find a base as long as the Russians controlled the Gulf of Riga?

The Russian fleet, on account of the revolution, was believed to be at a low grade of resistance, yet weeks passed

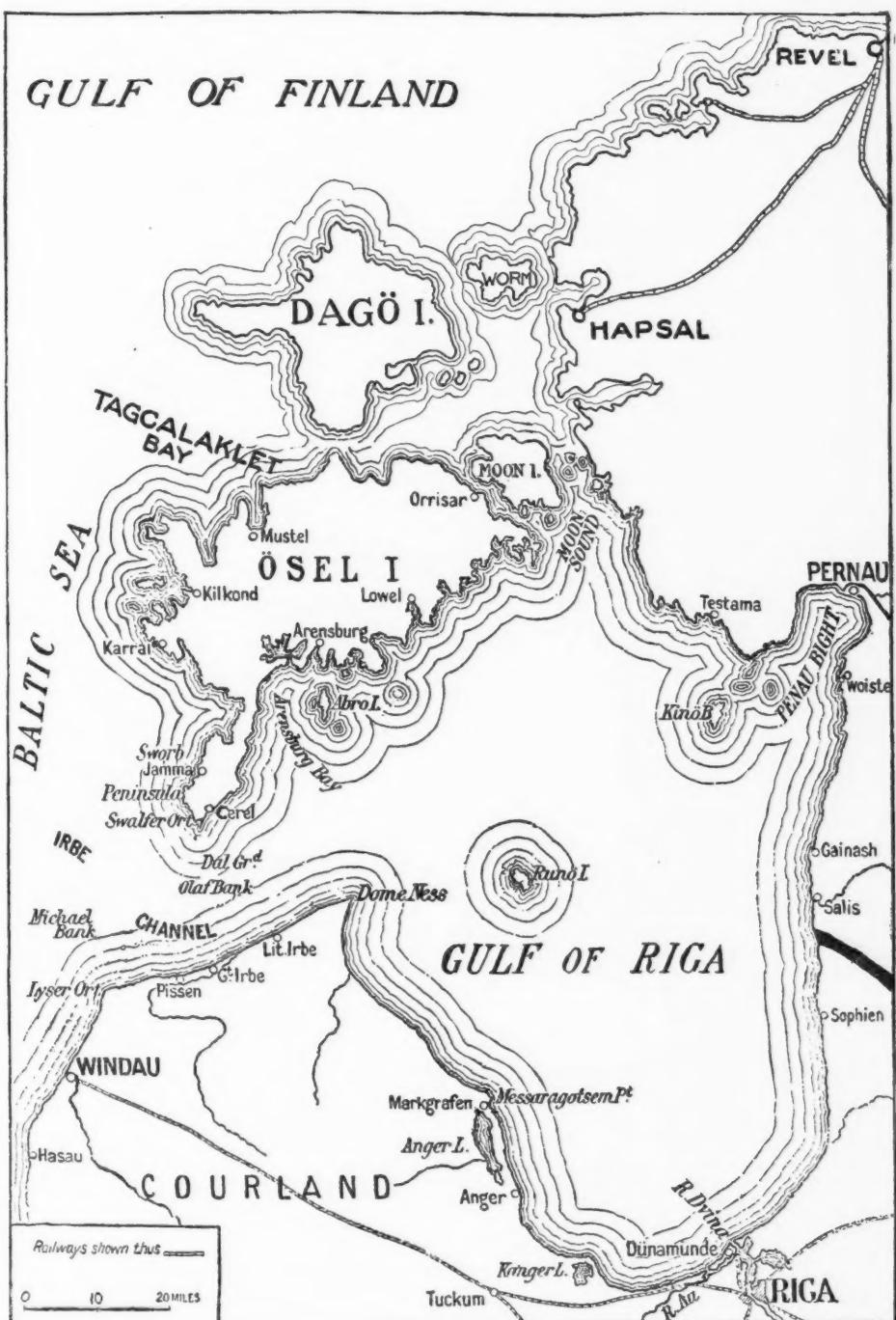
without a move being made by the German fleet to secure the gulf. The reason is now believed to be the mutiny at Wilhelmshaven, the first news of which was revealed by Admiral von Capelle, the German Minister of Marine, in the Reichstag on Oct. 9.

From German naval refugees in Switzerland it has subsequently been learned that the mutiny was much more serious than officially reported—it embraced not only Wilhelmshaven but the Baltic base of Kiel. At both places storehouses were wrecked and supplies destroyed, and 12,000 men on board twenty-five ships were involved in an actual revolt against the Kaiser. The first outbreak began as far back as July 30; the second, principally at Kiel, was on Sept. 2—the very day on which the German advance guard rode through Riga.

Two Islands Captured

The mutiny, however, merely postponed what was both a strategic and a tactical necessity if the occupation of Riga was to be anything more than a political gesture. On Oct. 8 a strong German naval force was observed off the Danish Island of Bornholm, sailing east-by-north. Two days later German motor boats appeared in the Gulf of Riga, and were dispersed by the shore batteries. Evidently their observations were to the effect that an entrance to the gulf could not be forced through the defended waters between Oesel Island and Cape Domesnees—a mined channel twenty miles wide—for on Oct. 13 German detachments under the protection of the guns of warships were landed on the shore of the Gulf of Tagalah, a northern inlet of Oesel Island, and near the village of Serro on the southern shore of Dagö Island. By Oct. 15, Arensburg, the chief city of Oesel, was in the possession of the invaders, and the garrisons of both islands were fleeing to the mainland eastward. (The islands have together an area about equal to Rhode Island, and a population of 50,000.) On Oct. 18 the Russian Admiralty reported the loss of the battleship *Slava*, 13,516 tons, in defending the gulf.

Thus, what Germany attempted to do in August and September, 1915, when



RUSSIAN ISLANDS CAPTURED BY GERMAN FORCES, GIVING THEM CONTROL OF THE GULF OF RIGA

she landed a force on Cape Domesnees, only to be destroyed a few days later, and then fought a naval battle off Oesel, in which the Russians claimed to have sunk five light cruisers and torpedo boats and to have seriously damaged the old battleships Wittelsbach and Kaiser Friedrich, she now accomplished.

German Gains in Russia

Complementary to these engagements the Germans have made gains beyond Riga, but with severe losses. On Sept. 21 they captured Jacobstadt, on the Dvina, together with positions on a twenty-six-mile front to a depth of six miles—still, however, on the western, or left, bank of the river. Jacobstadt, according to Berlin advices, furnished the victors with rich booty. Evidently as a preparation for the naval manoeuvres, German airmen soon after raided fortified positions on the Gulf of Riga, in an attempt to ascertain the location and strength of the Russian fleet.

The German operations indicate Reval as the objective. Reval would, indeed, be a prize. It is the capital of Estonia, and is on the Bay of Reval, an arm of the Gulf of Finland, 200 miles west-southwest of Petrograd. Just before the war, when the Czar's naval authorities discontinued their attempts to make Libau (occupied by the Germans on May 8, 1915) a naval base on account of the shifting ground of the harbor and the poor natural defenses, they had the alternative of choosing Reval or Riga. The latter was finally deemed too remote from the Baltic, and Reval was chosen, and was in a fair state of preparation when the war began. Northeast, at a distance of seventy miles, is Hanga, the most southwesterly point of Finland. A triple range of mines connects the two ports, thus forming the first line of sea defenses of both Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, and of Petrograd.

British in Asiatic Turkey

Owing to the lack of co-operation on the part of the Russians in Asia Minor and Persia, the position of Sir Edmund Allenby on the borders of Palestine and of Sir Stanley Maude in Mesopotamia had become delicate, to say the least. Meanwhile the Turks and their masters,

taking advantage of the passivity of Russia, had amassed in the Aleppo region, which commands each front, respectively by the Damascus-Medina railway extension and by the Bagdad Railway and caravan trail extension, a large number of divisions, which had been formally promised actual German support in the way of troops. The work of training proceeding at Aleppo, however, was slow. There was dissatisfaction with the German high command, and the Pashas, Enver, Talaat, and Djemal, were in disagreement with each other and with the German authority present. Food was plentiful, but the rails taken from the French Syrian lines were found insufficient to complete the Bagdad Railway, and the rolling stock had gradually rotted or rusted away under the sun of the desert or the moisture of the oases.

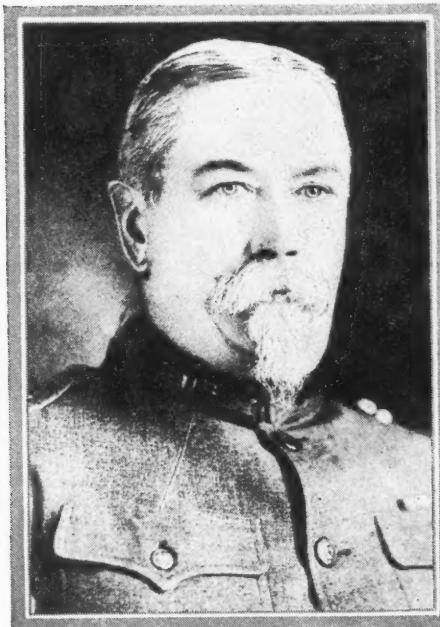
Three recent events have served at least to lessen the delicate position in which Maude and Allenby had been lying all Summer. The potential energy of these events, however, invites both exaggeration and disparagement—exaggeration on account of the geographical situation, disparagement because the control of Turkey in Asia forms, for both Wilhelmstrasse and Ballplatz, a most vital post-bellum asset.

Capture of Ramadie

On Sept. 30 a British official dispatch announced that the Anglo-Indian Army, under Sir Stanley Maude, operating in Mesopotamia, had captured the town of Ramadie on the Euphrates, and with it the entire army of Ahmed Bey. This achievement, preceded by a storming of Mushaid Ridge, in which Maude's superiority of artillery and of mobile cavalry manifested itself, had occurred on Sept. 29. On Oct. 5, the Russian Army Headquarters announced that the Caucasian army had taken by assault the village of Nereman, in the Kikatsh-Amania sector.

Ahmed Bey's division at Ramadie was destined no doubt to advance down the Euphrates and thereby seriously threaten Maude's left flank, if not cut his communications below Kut-el-Amara. They waited for reinforcements from Aleppo, and their waiting was fatal. Maude, with

COMMANDERS OF NATIONAL GUARD DIVISIONS



MAJOR GEN. GEORGE BELL, JR.
Thirty-third Division at Houston, Tex.
(Photo Press Illustrated Service)



MAJOR GEN. HENRY C. HODGES
Thirty-ninth Division at Alexandria, La.
(© Harris & Ewing)



MAJOR GEN. E. ST. J. GREBLE
Thirty-sixth Division at Forth Worth, Tex.
(Central News Photo Service)



MAJOR GEN. W. M. WRIGHT
Thirty-fifth Division at Fort Sill, Okla.
(© Harris & Ewing)

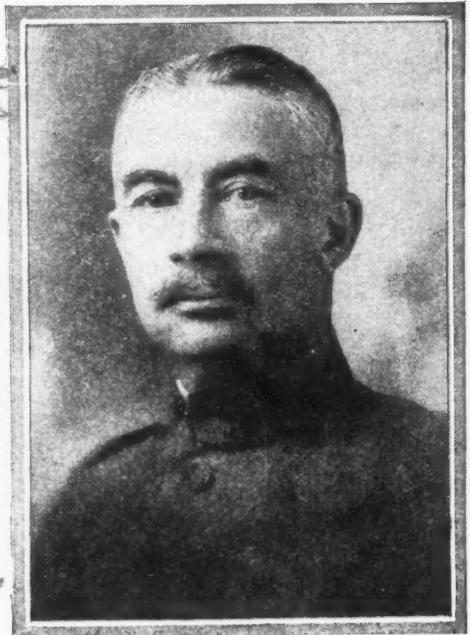
COMMANDERS OF NATIONAL ARMY DIVISIONS



MAJOR GEN. HARRY F. HODGES

Seventy-sixth Division at Ayer, Mass.

(© Harris & Ewing)



MAJOR GEN. J. E. KUHN

Seventy-ninth Division at Admiral, Md.

(© Harris & Ewing)



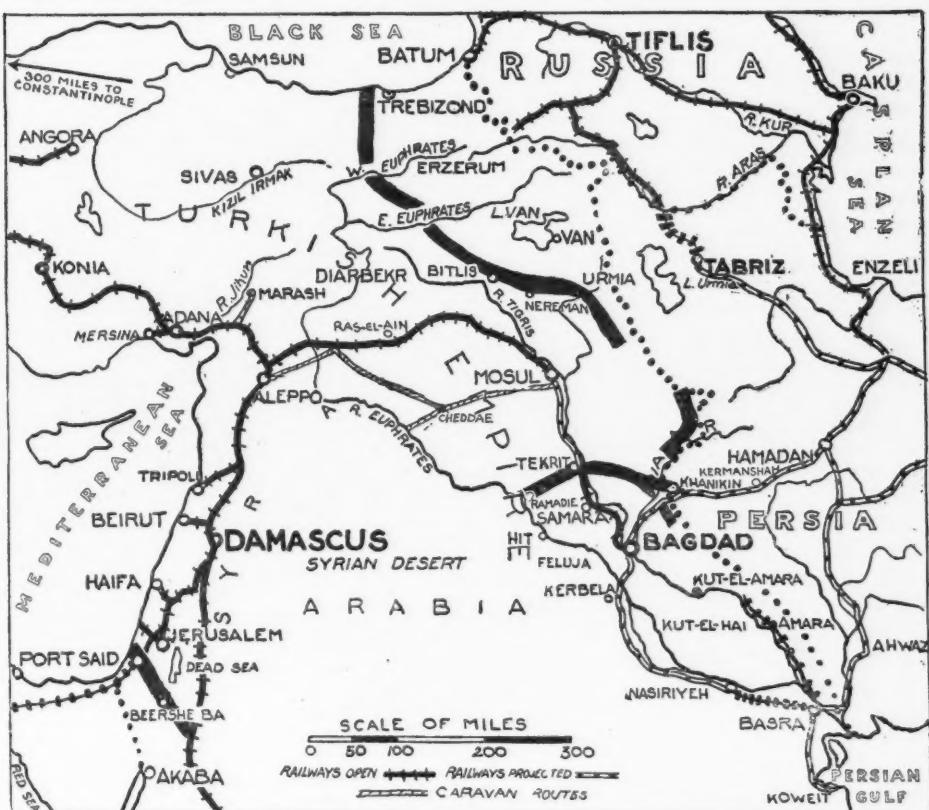
MAJOR GEN. ADELBERT CRONKHITE

Eightieth Division at Petersburg, Va.



MAJOR GEN. C. W. KENNEDY

Seventy-eighth Division at Wrightstown, N. J.



MAP SHOWING BRITISH AND RUSSIAN POSITIONS IN ASIATIC TURKEY, OCT. 18, 1917
 [The name of Gaza, southwest of Jerusalem, omitted from map by oversight.]

the climatic conditions lifted, moved with rapidity and won a surprise. Attacking the advanced positions on Mushaid Ridge at dawn of Sept. 28, after a night march, he quickly secured them, fought a severe battle during the day, carried the main positions, and then so disposed his troops that the enemy had no avenue of escape. It was a fine, finished piece of work.

Ramadie is about 130 miles south and a little east of Mosul; Nereman is 50 miles north of Mosul; Mosul is the southern terminal of the Bagdad Railway feverishly completed by German engineers since the Spring of 1916, from Ras-el-Ain. The southern section proceeding north from Bagdad had been completed as far as Tekrit. Between Tekrit and Mosul on the Tigris there is an unfinished section of about 90 miles. Anglo-Indian detachments occupied Tekrit last April—the last act of the campaign before the

torrid season set in which made manoeuvres impossible.

Thus with the opening of the new campaign we see Mosul, the largest and most important inland city now in Turkish possession, apparently menaced, while almost simultaneously comes the news from the British-Egyptian army at Gaza, before Jerusalem, 550 miles across the Arabian Desert west of Bagdad, that it has been joined by Arab detachments coming north from the new Arabian kingdom of Hedjaz (the Red Sea littoral) over the Damascus-Medina Railway.

Facts of the Situation

Mosul is now menaced by three armies, and the presence of an Arab force at Gaza shows the restoration of the Damascus-Medina Railway as far north as that place. By this railway, therefore, the Arab reinforcements who

have long been drilled and supplied by the British authorities on the Red Sea littoral may be measurably increased, or heavy artillery may be sent via the railway south to the extreme end of the peninsula, where the British naval station at Aden has been invested by Ali Said Pasha with the Thirty-ninth Turkish Division since July, 1915. Ali is not strong enough to attack Aden by assault and has his camp just out of range of the warships in the harbor. Since the revolt of the Grand Shereef of Mecca, now the King of Hedjaz, his communication with the north has been cut off, and the Arab tribes with him are only awaiting reinforcements from Hedjaz and a cryptic summons from Sir James Bell—"The lion is hungry"—to turn against him.

Following the surrender of Kut-el-Amara by General Townshend in April, 1916, after a five months' siege, the Germans believed that the British power in Mesopotamia had been crushed and it only remained for the Turks to give it the coup de grace. They discovered their mistake when, eight months later, Major Gen. Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, with a new Anglo-Indian army, reopened the campaign from below Kut. This he recaptured on Feb. 24, 1917. He occupied Bagdad, the ancient city of the Caliphs, on March 11; annihilated the Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps at Islabulet, near Samara, on April 18, and the Thirteenth on the 30th in the gorge of Shatt-el-Adam, in the Jebel Hamrin Hills. These victories, with outposts at Tekrit, had opened the war north to Mosul when the fighting season closed.

Russians in Asia Minor

A word should be said about the Russians in this region, so that the influence of the revolution at Petrograd on them may not be misunderstood. A difference must be made between the Russian army in Persia and that operating from the Caucasian front, which has just captured Nereman. The former, composed of conscripts from the great industrial cities of Western Russia, early felt the influence of the revolution. They captured Khankin, on the Persian frontier, on April 4, but surrendered it on the 15th of the fol-

lowing July. They still hold the high ground on the left bank of the Diala, but their ambitious dream of reaching Bagdad before the British has been reduced to a protection of Sir Stanley Maude's right flank. They also have to keep order in the Russian sphere of influence in Persia.

It is different with the Army of the Caucasus. This is composed of Kuban and Terek Cossacks and native Caucasians, who have hated the Turk for generations, who have never forgotten the surrender of hard-won Erzerum in 1878, and who regard the revolution merely as a means better to reinforce their campaign. They have vast stores of supplies at reconquered Erzerum, at Trebizon, and at Bitlis, and the propaganda of political agitators for peace has no influence among them.

In the race between the Russian Persian army and the Anglo-Indian army for Bagdad the latter won, but with the Army of the Caucasus as his rival for Mosul Sir Stanley Maude has a more formidable and persistent antagonist.

Many interesting things are certain to unfold themselves in the next few months in Asiatic Turkey, but before taking the defeat of the Turkish armies there as a foregone conclusion it should not be forgotten that the German Kaiser paid a visit to Constantinople in the middle of October, and with him came Field Marshal von Falkenhayn and several score of German officers. One may be sure that the All-Highest will not see his long-cherished dream for Egypt and the Berlin-Bagdad route to the Persian Gulf vanish without a prodigious effort to have it realized.

Events on Other Fronts

The Italians, as the month closes, are still slowly but surely pushing the Austrians from the remaining slopes of Monte San Gabriele, repelling counter-attacks there, on the Carso, and along the rapidly freezing defiles of the Trentino. On Sept. 28-29 the troops of General Cappello, by a sudden drive, captured two elevated positions south of Podlaca and southeast of Madoni on the Bainsizza Plateau—possibly as the first step to

ward entering the Chiavano Valley behind Monte San Gabriele and San Daniele.

In the Verdun sector, on the western front, the Germans have been making prodigious efforts to keep the French from gaining more ground—efforts which have every appearance of possessing a potential offensive were they not broken up by well-directed artillery fire. This was the case north of the Bois de Chaume on Sept. 24, and again at the same place on Oct. 10.

The same story might be told of the sectors further west—on the Aisne and in Champagne—where the German Crown Prince's heavy artillery preparations for assault invariably turn into duels in which his own guns are silenced and his subsequent advance of infantry shattered with a loss of men that is rapidly reaching the number he sacrificed at Verdun. Further west still, the concrete citadel of Lens, with its subterranean nests, continues to withstand the pressure of the Scots, Canadians, and Welsh.

Haig's Hammer Strokes in Flanders

Vivid Description of Some of the Historic Battles During September and October, 1917

By Philip Gibbs

[CABLED TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. COPYRIGHTED.]

The British offensive in Flanders, which began on July 31, 1917, continued intermittently all through August, September, and October. On Oct. 16 Premier Lloyd George sent the following telegram of appreciation to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig:

The War Cabinet desires to congratulate you and the troops under your command upon the achievements of the British armies in Flanders in the great battle which has been raging since July 31. Starting from a position in which every advantage rested with the enemy and hampered and delayed from time to time by the most unfavorable weather, you and your men have nevertheless continuously driven the enemy back with such skill, courage, and pertinacity as have commanded the grateful admiration of the peoples of the British Empire and filled the enemy with alarm. I am personally glad to be the means of transmitting this message to you and your gallant troops, and I desire to take this opportunity of renewing my assurance of confidence in your leadership and in the devotion of those whom you command.

Battle for the High Woodlands

[SEPTEMBER 20]

THE ground over which the British swept this morning [Sept. 20] was assaulted again and again by troops who ignored their losses and attacked with the most desperate and glorious courage, yet failed to hold what they had gained for a time, because their final goal was attained with weakened forces, after most fierce and bloody fighting. The empire knows who those men were—old English county regiments, who never fought more gallantly; Scots, who only let go of their forward positions under overwhelming pressure and annihilating fire; Irish divisions, who suffered the supreme ordeal and earned new and

undying honors, by the way they endured the fire of many guns for many days.

As long as history lasts the name of these woods, from which most of the trees have been swept, and of these bogs and marshes which lie about them will be linked with the memory of those brave battalions who fought through them again and again. They are not less to be honored than those who, with the same courage, just as splendidly fought through them again over the same tracks, past the same deathtraps, and achieved success by different methods, by learning from what the first men had suffered.

Abandoning the old trench system,

which we could knock to pieces with artillery, the enemy made his forward positions without any definite line and built a great number of concrete blockhouses so arranged in depth that they defended one another by enfilading fire, and so strong that nothing but a direct hit from one of our heavier shells would damage them; and a direct hit is very difficult to make on a small mark like one of those concrete houses, holding about ten to twenty men at a minimum and fifty to sixty in their largest.

These little garrisons were mostly machine gunners and picked men, especially trained for outpost work, and could inflict great damage on an advancing battalion, so that the forward lines passing through and beyond them would be spent and weak. Then behind, in reserve, lay the German shock troops, specially trained also for the counterattacks which were launched with strong striking forces against our advanced lines after all their struggle and loss.

The Formidable Blockhouses

Those blockhouses proved formidable things—hard nuts to crack, as the soldiers said who came up against them. There were scores of them, whose names will be remembered through a lifetime by the men of many battalions, and they cost the lives of many brave men.

Beck House and Bairy Farm belong to Irish history. Wurst Farm and Winnipeg, Bremen Redoubt, and Gallipoli, the Iberian and Delta Farms, are strongholds around which many desperate little battles, led by young subalterns or sergeants, took place on the last day of July and on many days since.

English and Scots have taken turns in attacking and defending such places as Fitz Clarence Farm, Northampton Farm, and Black Watch Corner, in the dreadful region in Inverness Copse, and Glencorse Wood. Today the hard nut of the concrete blockhouse has been cracked by a new method of attack and by a new assault planned with great forethought and achieved so far with high success.

All through the night the British heavy guns were slogging, and through the dark, wet mist there was the blurred light of their flashes. Before dawn a

high wind was raging at thirty miles an hour across Flanders, and the heaving, water-clogged clouds were only 400 feet above the earth. How could the airmen see? When the attack began they could not see. Even when they flew as low as 200 feet they could see nothing but the smoke, which clung low to the battlefield, and could only guess the whereabouts of the German batteries.

Swarm of British Aircraft

The sky over the salient was a strange vision, and I have seen nothing like it since the war began. It was filled with little black specks like midges, but each midge was a British airplane flying over the German lines. The Germans tried to clear the air of them, and the anti-aircraft guns were firing wildly, so that all about them were puffs of black shrapnel. Behind, closely clustered, were the British kite balloons, like snow clouds where they were caught by the light staring down over the battle and in wide semicircles about the salient.

The British heavy guns were firing hammer strokes, followed by the shrill cry of traveling shells, making a barrage before the troops and having blockhouses for their targets, and building walls of flying steel between the Germans and the attacking troops.

In the near distance were the strafed woods of old battlefields, like Wyckshaete Ridge and Messines, with their naked gallows trees all blurred in the mist.

The troops had lain out all night in the rain before the attack at something before 6 o'clock. They were wet through to the skin, but it is curious that some of them, whom I saw today, were surprised to hear that it had been raining hard; they had other things to think about. But some of them did not think at all. Tired out in mind and body under the big nervous strain which is there, though they may be unconscious of it, they slept.

Appalling Barrage Fire

The barrage ahead of our men was terrific, the most appalling fence of shells that had ever been placed before advancing troops in this war. All the men describe it as wonderful. "Beautiful" is

a word they use, too, because they know what it means in safety to them.

In the direction of the Polygon Wood the plan of attack seems to have worked like clockwork. The assaulting troops moved forward behind the barrage, stage by stage, through Westhoek and Nonnenboschen and across Hannebeke stream on their left with hardly a check, in spite of the German blockhouses scattered over this country. In those blockhouses small

garrisons of picked troops had been demoralized, as any human beings would be by the enormous shellfire which had been flung around them. Some, but not all, it seems, of the blockhouses had been smashed, and in those still standing the German machine gunners got their weapons to work with a burst or two of fire, but then, seeing the British troops on them, they were seized with fear and made signs of surrender.

The Battle About Cameron House

[SEPTEMBER 25]

Increasing their barrage fire to great intensity yesterday, [Sept. 25,] the Germans flung it down in Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse, fired large numbers of heavy, long-range shells over Westhoek Ridge, Observatory Ridge, and Hooge, and concentrated most fiercely on the ground about Cameron House, Black Watch Corner, and Tower Hamlets.

At 6 o'clock in the morning, supported by this terrific fire, they launched their first attack on the British troops around Cameron House, and, owing to their losses, the British were obliged to fall back some little way in order to reorganize for an assault to recapture their positions. These fought through some awful hours, and several of their units did heroic things to safeguard their lines, which for a time were threatened.

While they were fighting in this way, the Australians, on the high ground this side of Polygon Wood race track and the mound which is called the Butte, also had to repel some fierce attacks which opened on them soon after 8 o'clock in the morning. The enemy was unable to pierce their line and fell back from this first attempt with great losses in dead and wounded. This attack was followed by a second thrust at midday, which met the same fate. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Australians sent some men to help the troops on their right, who were passing through a greater ordeal owing to the storm of fire over them and the continued pressure of the enemy's storm troops, who were persistent, throughout the afternoon, in spite of the trails of dead left in their tracks.

It was a serious anxiety on the eve of a new battle, but it failed to frustrate the British attack. All the area through which the enemy was trying to bring up his troops was made hideous by artillery fire and the work of the Royal Flying Corps. It was a clear, moonlight night, with hardly a breath of air blowing, and all the countryside was made visible by the moon's rays, which silvered the roofs of all the villages and made every road like a white tape. The British planes went out over the enemy's lines, laden with bombs, and patrolled up and down the tracks and made some thirty attacks upon the enemy's transport and his marching columns. All his lines of approach were kept under continual fire by guns of heavy calibre, and for miles around shells swept the points which marching men would have to pass, so that their way was hellish.

The British aircraft went out and flew very low and dropped bombs wherever the observers saw men moving through the luminous mists of night. Behind the British lines air patrols guarded the countryside. On the battlefield there was no unusual gunfire for several hours after dark. The guns on both sides kept up the usual night bombardment in slow, sullen strokes, but, at least on the Australian front, it was not until about 4:45 o'clock in the morning that the enemy opened a heavy barrage on Glencorse Wood. The Australian troops were already massed beyond that ground for the attack which was due soon.

Our new form of barrage is the most frightful combination of high explosives

and shrapnel that has yet appeared in the war, and it rolled backward and forward about them so that the garrisons huddled inside until our men slipped behind them and thrust rifles or bombs through the machine-gun loopholes, if the Germans had not previously escaped to the shell craters around where they might have more chance.

Here I might say that the Germans have already modified their methods of holding blockhouses. While only a few men remain inside, the rest of the garrison is distributed in shell holes on each side, with machine guns in organized craters. Some of these Germans were found by our men, and though many of them had been killed by our gunfire,

others remained shooting and sniping until they were routed out.

The worst part of the ground on this line of attack was around the blockhouse called Boston Farm, where there is a swamp so impassable that some British soldiers who tried to make their way through it had to work around and up toward Hill 40. Here they came under machine-gun fire, and although some of them forced their way up the slope of the knoll on which the inn had stood, they did not quite reach the crest. Meanwhile some of our other troops, attacking around about Zonnebeke, where the ground was swept by machine-gun bullets, seized the ruins of the church and the outskirts of the station yard.

The Shambles About Inverness Copse

[SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 2]

When I went over the ground of Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood a few days ago there were more dead than I had ever seen before on one battle-ground. They were strewn around blockhouses, lying in the foul water of swamps and shell holes, in dugouts broken by the British fire and half buried in the heaved earth. It is like that over a wide stretch of country, and behind that ground which the British have taken and hold there is other ground, miles back, over which the German dead are scattered like Autumn leaves. For the British gunners have no limit to their ammunition now, and their shells go in ceaseless flights over the enemy's lines to smash their human targets.

This morning again the German infantry was assembled three times and sent forward into the shambles—three times for attacks on each side of that Ypres-Menin road which strikes through this country of death. Polygon Heights was their goal, but the men up there are ready and strong for any hostile advance. With machine-gun and rifle fire and the pounding of "heavies" these morning attacks have been beaten off.

Imagination fails to picture the scenes out there behind the German lines—the agony of those men who, like the Poles among them, have no desire to fight, and

only terror of the fury of shellfire into which they are ordered like poor beasts for slaughter and sacrifice. Lines scribbled in German notebooks and found on the battlefield give glimpses of this human anguish and of the blood and filth through which these men move. Here is one such note by an unknown German officer:

If it were not for the men who have been spared me on this fierce day and are lying around me and looking at me timidly, I should shed hot and bitter tears over the terrors that have menaced me during these hours. On the morning of Sept. 18 a dugout containing seventeen men was shot to pieces over our heads. I am the only one who withstood the maddening bombardment of three days and still survives. You cannot imagine the frightful mental torments I underwent in those few hours. After crawling out through the bleeding remnants of my comrades and the smoke and débris and wandering and fleeing in the midst of raging artillery fire in search of refuge, I am now awaiting death at any moment. You do not know what Flanders means. Flanders means endless endurance; Flanders means blood and scraps of human bodies; Flanders means heroic courage and faithfulness even unto death.

Fight For Polygon Wood

"I was on the last position three-quarters of an hour before the barrage passed," said a young officer. He spoke the

words as if telling something rather commonplace, but he knew I knew the meaning of what he said—a frightful and extraordinary thing; for with his platoon he had gone ahead of the storm of fire and had to wait until it reached and then passed them. Some of their losses were because of that, and yet they might have been greater if they had been slower, because the enemy was caught before he could guess they were near.

Some ran toward their own lines with their hands up, shouting "Kamerad!" believing that they were running toward the British. They were so unready for the attack that the snipers had the safety clips on their rifle barrels, and others were without ammunition.

The way to the last objective was easy, on the whole, and the Germans were on the run with the British after them. The hardest time came afterward, as it nearly always comes, when the ground gained had to be held for three more days and nights without the excitement of attack and under heavy fire. That is when the courage of the men is most tried, as this battalion found. The enemy had time to pull themselves together, the German

gunners adapted their range to the new positions and shelled fiercely across the ways of approach and scattered 5.9s everywhere.

It was riflefire for the British men all the time. They had not troubled to bring up a great many bombs, for the rifle has come into its own again, now that the old trench warfare is gone for a time or for all time. So, with rifle and machine-gun fire they broke down the German counterattacks and caught parties of Germans, who showed themselves on the slopes of Passchendaele Ridge, and sniped incessantly. They used up a prodigious quantity of small-arms ammunition, and the carriers risked their lives every step of the way to get it up to them. They fired 30,000 rounds and then 16,000 more.

There was one officer who spent all his time sniping from a little patch of ground that had once been a garden. He lay behind the heaped ruin and used his field-glasses to watch the slopes of rising ground on his left where human ants were crawling. Every now and then he fired and picked off an ant until his score reached fifty.

The Capture of Passchendaele Ridge

[OCTOBER 4]

It has been a strange and terrible battle—terrible, I mean, in its great conflict of guns and men—and the enemy, if all goes as well with the British as it is now going, may have to remember it as a turning point in the history of this war—a point that has turned against him with a sharp and deadly edge. For realizing his great peril if the British strengthened their hold on Passchendaele Ridge, and knowing that they intended to do so, (all the signs showed him that, and all our pressure on these positions,) he prepared an attack against them in great strength in order to regain the ground he lost on Sept. 26, or, if not that, then so to damage them that their advance would be checked until the weather choked them in mud again.

His small counterattacks, or rather his local counterattacks—for they were not weak—had failed; even his persistent

hammering at the right wing by Cameron House, below Polygon Wood, had failed to bite deeply into the British line, though for a time, on Sept. 25, it had been a cause of anxiety to them and made the battle next day more difficult and critical. But these attacks had failed in their purpose, and now the German high command decided for a big blow, which was to be delivered at 7 o'clock this morning.

It was a day and an hour too late. The British battle was fixed for an hour before his, and so it happened that the British troops, in order to follow their own barrage, had to pass through that of the Germans, which fell upon them before they leaped up to the assault; and it happened also, most terribly for the enemy, that the British were not stopped, but went through that zone of shells without disorder, and on the other side, behind their own barrage, swept over the Ger-

man assault troops and annihilated their plan of attack.

The Germans did not attack. Their defense even was broken. As the British lines of fire crept forward they reached and broke the second and third waves of men who had been ordered to attack and caught them in their support and reserve positions. One can only guess what the slaughter has been. Five German divisions were involved in it.

Scene Behind the Lines

Preparations on a big scale were started as soon as the last battle was fought and won. No words of mine can give more than a hint of what those preparations meant in the scene of war. Everywhere there has been a fever of work—Tommies, Chinkies, and colored men piling up mountains of ammunition to feed the guns. Under shellfire bracketing the loads on which they worked, the engineers carried on.

Tracks were put down, new lengths of "duckboard" laid, and new rails. The enemy's shells came howling over to search out all this work, which had been observed by airplanes, and at night flocks of the latter came out in the light of the moon to drop bombs on the men and the works. Now and again they made lucky hits—got a dump and sent it flaming up in a great torch, killed horses in the wagon lines laboring up with transport laid out a group of men, smashed a train or truck—but the work went on, never checked, never stopping in its steady flow of energy up to the lines, and the valor of all these laborers was great and steady in preparing for today. Knowing the purpose of it all filled one with a kind of fear—it was so prodigious, so vastly schemed.

I passed a dump yesterday, and again today, in the waste ground on the old battlefield near Ypres, and saw the shells for the field batteries being unloaded. There were thousands of them, brand new from the British factories, all bright and glistening and laid out in piles. The guns were greedy; here was food for their monstrous appetite.

This morning, when the men rose from the shell holes and battered trenches and fields of upheaved earth to make this

great attack, the rain fell still, but softly, so that the ground was only sticky and sludgy, but not a bog. Rain was glistening on their steel helmets, and the faces of the fighting men were wet when they went forward. They had passed already through a great ordeal, and some of them—a few here and there—could not rise to go with their comrades, they lay dead on the ground.

Germans Try New Tactics

Along the lines of these thousands of men the stretcher bearers were already busy in the dark, because the enemy put over a heavy barrage at 5:30, and elsewhere later—the prelude to the attack he had planned. His old methods of defense and counterattack had broken down in two battles. The spell of the "pill box," which had worked well for a time, was broken so utterly that those concrete blockhouses were feared as deathtraps by the men who had held them.

The German high command hurried to prepare a new plan, guessing that of the British, and moved their guns to be ready for the next attack, registered on their own trenches, which they knew they might lose. The barrage which the Germans sent over was the beginning of a new plan. It failed because of the great courage of the British troops, first of all, and because the German infantry attack was timed an hour too late. If it had come two hours earlier it might have led to the undoing of Haig's men—might, at least, have prevented anything like a real victory today; but the fortune of war was on the side of the British, and the wheel turned around to crush the enemy.

The main force of his attack, which was to have been made by the Fourth Guards Division, with two others, I am told, in support, was ready to assault the centre of the British battle front in the direction of Polygon Wood and down from Broodseinde Crossroads. It was the British, however, who fought the German assault divisions at Broodseinde Crossroads and took many prisoners from them before they had time to advance very far. The enemy's shelling had been heavy about the ground of Inverness Copse and Glencorse Wood,

where a week or so ago I saw frightful heaps of German dead, and spread over a wide area of the British line of battle along Polygon Wood Heights and the low ground in front of Zonnebeke. The men tell me that it did not do them as much harm as they expected. The shells plunged deep in the soft ground, bursting upward in tall columns, and their killing effect was not widespread. Many of them also missed the British waves altogether.

So, half an hour later, the British attacking troops went away behind their own barrage, which was enormous and annihilating. Wet mist lay heavily over the field, and it was almost dark except for a pale glimmer behind the rain clouds, which brightened as each quarter hour passed, with the men tramping forward slowly to their first objective.

Terrible Battle Picture

The shell craters on the German side were linked together here and there to form a kind of trench system, but many of these had been blown out by other shellbursts, and German soldiers lay dead in them. From others men and boys—many boys of 18—rose with arms up-stretched, as white in the face as dead men, but living and afraid. Across these frightful fields men came running toward the British line. They did not come to fight, but to escape from the shellfire which tossed up the earth about them, and to surrender. Many of them were streaming with blood, wounded about the head and face, or with broken and bleeding arms. So I saw them early this morning when they came down the tracks which led away from that long line of flaming gunfire.

The scene of the battle in those early hours was a great and terrible picture. It will be etched as long as life lasts on the minds of the men who saw it. The ruins of Ypres were vague and blurred in the mist as I passed them on the way up, but as the moments passed the ragged stump of the Cloth Hall, the wild wreckage of the asylum, and the fretted outline of all this chaos of masonry which was so fair a city once crept out in the light which flashed redly and passed.

So it was all the long way to the old German lines. Bits of villages still stand, enough to show that buildings were once there, and isolated ruins of barns and farmhouses lie in heaps of timber and brickwork about great piles of greenish sandbags and battered earthworks.

Hundreds of Guns Volleying

The British guns were everywhere in the low, concealing mist, so that one could not walk anywhere to avoid the blast of their fire. They made a fury of fire. Flashes leaped from them, with only a pause of a second or two while they were reloaded. There was never a moment within my own range of vision when hundreds of great guns were not firing together. They were eating up the shells which I had seen going up to them, and the roads and fields across which I walked were littered with shells. The wet mist was like one great damp fire with ten miles or more of smoke rising in white vapor, through which tongues of flame leaped up stirred by some fierce wind.

The noise was terrifying in its violence. Passing one of those big-bellied howitzers was to me an agony. It rose like a beast stretching out its neck, and there came from it a roar which almost split one's eardrums and shook one's body with the long tremor of the concussion. These things were all firing at their hardest pace, and the earth was shaken with their blasts of fire. The enemy was answering, but with no great threat to the British guns. His shells came whining and howling through all this greater noise and burst with a crash on either side of the mule tracks and over the bits of ruin near by and in the fields on each side of the paths down which German prisoners came staggering with their wounded.

Fresh shell holes, enormously deep and thickly grouped, showed that the German guns had plastered this ground fiercely, but later in the morning their shelling eased off, and the guns had other work to do over there, where the British infantry was advancing—other work, unless the guns lay smashed with their teams lying dead around them, killed by the British counterbattery work with

high explosives and gas; for in the night the British smothered the Germans with gas and tried to keep them quiet for this battle and all others.

Like a Ridge of Volcanoes

We went eastward and mounted a pile of rubbish and timber, all blown into shapelessness and reeking with foul odors, and from that shelter looked across to Passchendaele Ridge and Hill 40, on the west of Zonnebeke and the line of the ridge that goes round to Polygon Wood. It was all blurred, but clearly through the gloom were seen the white and yellow cloudbursts of the British shellfire and the flame of the shellbursts.

It was the most terrible bombardment I had ever seen, and I saw the fire of the Somme and of Vimy and Arras and Messines. Those were not like this, great as they were in frightfulness. The whole of Passchendaele crest was like a series of volcanoes belching up pillars of earth and fire.

"It seemed to us," said man after man who came down from those slopes, "as if no mortal man could live in it. Yet there were many who lived, despite all the dead."

I saw the living men. Below the big pile of timber and muck on which I stood was a winding path, with other tracks on each side of it between deep shell craters, and down those ways came batches of prisoners and the trail of the British walking wounded. It was a tragic sight, in spite of its proof of the victory and valor of the British and the spirit of the British wounded, who bore pain with stoic patience and said, when I spoke to them, "It's been a good day; we're doing fine, I think."

The Procession of Wounded

The Germans were haggard and white-faced men, thin and worn, and weary and frightened, many of them. The greater number were wounded. Some of them had masks of dry blood on their faces and some of them wet blood all down their tunics. They held broken arms, from which the sleeves had been cut away, and hobbled painfully on wounded legs.

It was a procession down that winding path which a painter should have seen, to

put down a true picture of one side of war. Shoulder-high, the stretcher bearers, swaying a little to the swing of the stretchers, carried the German and British wounded. I saw a German officer on one of the stretchers. He had a cloak over him and his head drooped over the side of the pole. I think he was already dead. Another man died as they carried him. His head flopped first to one side and then to the other, and then his body was shaken with a great rigor and he lay still. A young soldier had been blinded. All the top of his face was covered with a bloody rag, and he walked stiffly, with an Englishman on either side of him, guiding his footsteps over the rough ground. They passed and passed, these men—platoons of Germans marching together with one or two British soldiers with fixed bayonets beside them, and single figures, not guarded at all, but making their way slowly and painfully across the fields in the same direction as the British wounded. There were many boys among them—boys with shaven heads, without caps or helmets; wizened white-faced boys, whose shrapnel helmets were like extinguishers, and lazy boys, with great spectacles on their noses.

But they were not in the majority. Most of the men I saw—and I saw hundreds of them—were men between 20 and 30, and big, strong, and tough. After this battle their skin was gray, and their eyes stared out of deep sockets. They shrank when some of their own shells came overhead and burst near them on the way down to safety, and they looked with dazed eyes at the English soldiers and at the ambulances and wagons further on. It had been a great defeat for them, and they did not hide their despair. They did not fight stubbornly for the most part, but ran one way or the other as soon as the British barrage passed and revealed their assailants. The British gunfire had overwhelmed them.

In the blockhouses were groups of men who gasped out words of surrender. Here and there they refused to come out till bombs burst outside their steel doors, and here and there they got machine guns to work and checked the British advance

for a time, as at Joist Farm, on the right of the attack, and at a château near Polderhoek, where there had been severe fighting. There was heavy machine-gun fire from a fortified ruined farm to the north of Broodseinde, and again from Kronprinz Farm, on the extreme left. The enemy also put down a heavy machine-gun barrage from positions around

Passchendaele, but nothing has stopped the British seriously so far. They swept up and beyond Cravenstavel and Abraham Heights, went through and past the ruins of Zonnebeke Village, and with great heroism gained the high ground about Broodseinde, a dominating position giving observation of all the enemy country.

The Desolation Around Ypres

[OCTOBER 7]

It rained hard yesterday, giving an unforgettable demonstration of the nature of the difficulties which the British troops have encountered in many of their recent operations. Within a few hours the entire country had been turned into a mass of deep, clinging mud, through which one made his way with the greatest effort. A stream known as Honnebeke, which is one of the many little waterways that cover not only this section but most of the battle zone, was surrounded by a veritable morass. It would be impossible to cross it at many places.

Shell holes had rapidly filled with water, and ponds were to be seen in which a score of men might easily drown if they were unfortunate enough to fall down the slippery sides. Often a small pool of water covered a considerable shell hole.

A wounded man was being brought back from Broodseinde Ridge. It took four sturdy stretcher bearers to carry him, and they were floundering miserably at every step. It must have taken them several hours to negotiate their journey.

It seemed inconceivable that men could work, much less fight, over such filthy ground; yet the British soldiers and officers were carrying on steadily yester-

day their operations. And in recent days they have often fought over just such territory as this.

Nowhere on the western front has the war printed more cruel marks of devastation than in the wide zone east of Ypres, where such fierce and sanguinary fighting has been proceeding at intervals since the British launched their initial attack.

This whole region, much of which in peace times was prosperous farming country, has been turned by the artillery fire into a desolate waste of vast and deep shell craters, which are so close together that in innumerable cases they interlock. Farmhouses have been pulverized and plowed under in the ruthless sweep of the shells, and village sites are marked by little portions of walls where churches or other big buildings once stood.

Cottages are buried beneath heaps of turned-up earth, and there is scarcely a vestige of grass or other green thing to be seen in miles of tramping. Trees have been smashed into matchwood, and their roots turned up in grotesque shapes to add to the sinister aspect of the country. Here and there, where little forests stood, the hardier trees have clung to their birthright, but their branches have been shorn from their trunks.

The Battle for Houlstul Wood

[OCTOBER 9]

The French yesterday gained about 1,200 yards of ground in two strides, captured hundreds of prisoners, many machine guns and two field guns, and killed large numbers of the enemy in

this attack and in the bombardments which preceded it.

The allied troops are within a few hundred yards of that forest of which Marlborough spoke when he said, "Who-

ever holds Houltulst Forest holds Flanders," and have gone forward about 1,500 yards in depth along a line beyond Poelcapelle, across the Ypres-Cheluvelt road.

The enemy again suffered great losses. Two new divisions, which had just been brought into line, the 227th, straight from Rheims, getting into line at 3 o'clock this morning, while the 195th arrived from Russia, have received a fearful baptism of fire, and at least three other divisions have been hard hit and have given many prisoners from their raids into British hands.

It was a black and dreadful night. The wind howled and raged across Flanders with long, sinister wailings as it gathered speed and raced over the fields. The heavy stormclouds, hiding the moon and stars, broke and a deluge came down, drenching the British soldiers who marched along the roads and tracks, making ponds about them where they stood. It was cold, with the coldness cutting the men with the sharp sword of the wind, and there was no glimmer of light in the darkness.

To those who know the craterland of battlefields and with light kit or no kit have gone stumbling through it, picking their way between shell holes in the daylight, taking hours to travel a mile or two, it might have seemed impossible that great bodies of troops could go forward in an assault over such a country and win success in such conditions. That they did so is one more proof that the British troops have in them the heroic spirit which is above the normal laws of life. This battle seems to me as wonderful as anything the British have done since the Highlanders and the naval division captured Beaumont Hamel in the mud and fog. It was more wonderful even than that, because on a greater scale and in more foul weather.

Men Plastered with Clay

This morning I have been among men who lay out last night before the attack which followed the first gleams of dawn today, and who staggered and stumbled up to take part in the attack. These men I met had come back wounded. Only in the worst days of the Somme have I seen such figures. They were plastered from

head to foot in wet mud, their hands and faces being covered with clay like the hands and faces of dead men.

They had tied bits of sacking round their legs, and this was stuck on them with clots of mud. Their belts and tunics were covered with thick wet slime. They were soaked to the skin and their hair was stiff with clay.

They looked to me like men who had been buried alive and had been dug out again. And when I spoke to them I found that some of them had been buried alive and unburied while they still had life. They told me this simply as if it were the normal thing. Others, without being flung down by a shellburst or buried in a crater, fell up to their waists in shell holes and up to their armpits and sank in water and mud.

A little group of men whom I knew had to make their way up to join in their unit's attack in the dawn. It was at dusk that this handful of men set out on the way up to the battle line, and it was only a few miles they had to go, but it took them eleven hours to go that distance, and they did not get to the journey's end until half an hour before they had to attack. * * * They had no food all that time. "I would have given my left arm for a drop of hot drink," said one of them. "I was 'fair perished' with the cold."

They went over to the attack, these troops who were cold and hungry and exhausted after a dreadful night, and they gained their objective and routed the enemy and sent back many prisoners.

There were a number of German blockhouses in front of them beyond Abraham Heights and Gravenstafel. On their left there was a blockhouse called Peter Pan, though no little Mother Wendy would tell stories to her boys there.

German Troops Heavily Massed

Beyond that little house of death were Wolf Copse and Wolf Farm, from which the fire of German machine guns came swishing in streams of bullets. There was no yard of ground without a shell hole, they were linked together like the holes in honeycomb, and German troops were very thick because of their new methods of defense—very dense in the

support lines, though the front line was more lightly held, the men being scattered about in these craters.

Large numbers were killed and wounded when the British barrage stormed over them, but numbers crouching in the old craters were left alive, and as the barrage passed they rose and came streaming over in small batches with their hands high. They came to meet the British, hoping for mercy.

Many prisoners were made before the first objective was reached, and after that by harder fighting some of the men in the shell holes, wet like the British and cold like them, decided to keep fighting and fired rifles as the British struggled forward. Not all the prisoners who were taken came down behind the British lines. The enemy was barraging the ground heavily, and many of their own men were killed and some of the British stretcher bearers as they came down with the wounded.

Up in the leafless and shattered trees on the battlefield were Germans with machine guns and German riflemen, who sniped the British as they passed. Many of these were shot up in trees and came crashing down.

Up on the left of the attack, where the British linked up with the French, Germans were taken prisoner in great numbers, officers as well as men. The hostile bombardment was not so heavy as on the right, so that the casualties seem to have been light there.

In spite of the frightful ground, all the objectives were taken, so that the allied line was drawn close to Houtulst Forest.

Heroic Work of Lancashires

The brunt of the fighting fell in the centre upon the troops of the North Country, the hard, tough men of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it was the Lancashires' day especially, because of these third-line territorial battalions of Manchesters and East Lancashires and the Lancashire Fusiliers, with other Lancashire comrades. There were some among them who went over the bags, as they call it, for the first time, and who fought in one of the hardest battles that has ever been faced by British troops.

The night march of some of these men who went up to attack at dawn seems to me, who have written many records of brave acts during three years of war, one of the most heroic episodes in all this time. It was a march which in dry, fine weather would have been done easily enough in less than three hours by men as good as these, but it took eleven hours for these Lancashire men to get up their support line; and then, worn out by fatigue that was physical pain, wet to the skin, cold as death, hungry and all clotted about with mud, they lay in the water of the shell holes for a little while until their officers said: "Turn out, boys!" And they went forward through heavy fire and over the same kind of ground and fought the enemy with his machine guns and beat him—until they lay outside their last objective and kept off counterattacks by the few machine guns that still remained unclogged and the rifles that somehow they had kept dry. Nothing better than that has been done, and Lancashire should thrill to the tale of it, because her sons were its heroes.

At night the lightly wounded men who tried to get back had a desperate time trying to find their way. Some of them walked away to the German lines and were up to the barbed wire before they found out their mistake. It was difficult to get any sense of direction in the darkness, but the German flares helped them. They rose with a very bright light flooding the swamps of No Man's Land with a white glare and revealing the tragedy of the battlefield, where many bodies lay still in the bogs, for many Germans had been killed.

Before the darkness the German airplanes came over, as it were, in dense flocks. One Lancashire boy declared that he counted thirty-seven as he lay looking up to the sky from a shell hole, and they flew low to see where the British had made their line.

For many days splendid and chivalrous work has been done on this part of the ground by the stretcher bearers. Out of 250 laboring in these fields over 100 were hit, and all of them took the utmost risk to rescue their fallen comrades in the

fighting lines. The sappers and pioneers, the transport men and gunners, fought not against an enemy from Germany, but against one more difficult to defeat, and that was the mud, which made all their work misery and hampered them over

every yard of ground; but for many hours, in light and darkness, they worked their way forward, making new tracks, struggling up with wagons and mules, keeping communications open with the front line and the troops in support.

The Battle in the Mud

[OCTOBER 12]

The British troops went forward again today, further up the slopes of Passchendaele Ridge, striking northeast toward the village of Passchendaele itself, which I saw this morning looming through the mist and white smoke of shellfire, with its ruins like the battlements of a mediaeval castle perched high on the crest.

A clear line was made for the barrage which would be fired by the British guns this morning, but some troops had still to go up, and some men had to march through the night as those Lancashire men had marched up three nights before. They had the same grim adventure; they, too, fell into shell holes, groped their way forward blindly in the wild downpour of rain, lugged each other out of bogs, floundered through mud and shellfire from 5 in the evening until a few minutes only before it was time to attack.

The enemy was busy with his guns all night to catch any of the British who might be on the move. He flung down a heavy barrage round about Zonnebeke, but by good chance it missed one group of men thereabout and scarcely touched any of the others in that neighborhood. But his heavy shells were scattered over a wide area and came howling through the darkness and exploding with great upheavals of wet earth. Small parties of men dodged them as best they could and pitched into shell holes five feet deep in water when they threatened instant death.

Then gas shells came whining, with their queer little puffs, unlike the exploding roar of the bigger shells, and the wet wind was filled with poisonous vapor, smarting to the eyes and skin, so that some of the men had to put on gas masks.

The march up to the battle line might have shaken the nerves of most men, might even have unmanned and weakened them, by the fainting sickness of fear, but it only made the British angry to the point of wild rage.

"To hell with them!" said some of them. "We won't spare them when we go over; we will make them pay for this night."

They used savage and flaming words, cursing the enemy, the weather, the shellfire, and the foulness of it all. I know the state of the ground, for I went over this crater land this morning to look at the flame of fire below Passchendaele spur.

I had no heavy kit, like the fighting men, but I fell on the greasy "duckboards," as they fell, and rolled into the slime, as they had rolled.

The rain beat a tattoo on one's steel helmet. Every shell hole was brimful of brown or greenish water. Moisture rose from the earth in a fog. The British guns were firing everywhere through the mist and thrust sharp little swords of flame through its darkness, and all the battlefields bellowed with the noise of the guns.

I walked through battery positions; past enormous howitzers which at twenty paces' distance shook one's bones with the concussion of their blasts; past long-muzzled high-velocities whose shells, after the first sharp hammer stroke, went whinnying away with the high, fluttering note of death; past big-bellied 4.2s and monsters firing lyddite shells in clouds of yellow smoke.

A Grim Picture

Before me, stretching away round Houthulst Forest, big and dark and grim with its close-growing trees, was Pass-

chendaele Ridge, the long, hummocky slopes for which the British were fighting, and their barrage fire crept up it, and the infernal shellfire rising in white columns was on top of it, hiding the broken houses there until later in the morning, when the rain ceased a little and the sky was streaked with blue, and out of the wet gloom Passchendaele appeared with its houses still standing, though all in ruins.

There were queer effects when the sun broke through. Its rays ran down the wet trunks and forked naked branches

of dead trees with a curious, dazzling whiteness, and all the swamps were glinting with light on their foul waters; and the pack mules, winding along the tracks, slithering and staggering through the slime, had four golden bars on either side of them when the sun shone on their 18-pounder shells.

There was something more ghastly in this flood of white light over the dead ground of the battlefields, revealing all the litter of human conflict around the captured German "pill boxes," than when it was all under black stormclouds.

The Nations at War

BY the action of Peru and Uruguay in breaking off relations with Germany, the number of nations now in that stage of belligerency is seven, while eighteen others are now at war with Germany and her allies. The following summary and dates are from the Official Bulletin:

At war with Germany or her allies:

Serbia, Russia, France, Great Britain, Montenegro, Japan, Belgium, Italy, San Marino, Portugal, Rumania, Greece, Cuba, Panama, Siam, Liberia, China, and the United States.

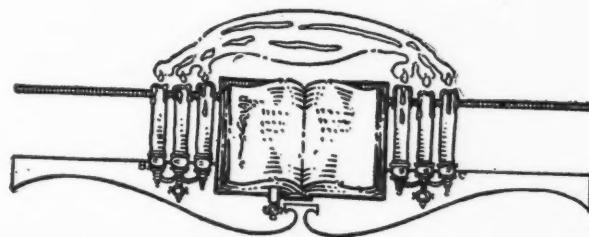
Diplomatic relations broken with Germany:

Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay.

Declarations of war made:

Austria vs. Belgium, Aug. 28, 1914.
 Austria vs. Montenegro, Aug. 9, 1914.
 Austria vs. Russia, Aug. 6, 1914.
 Austria vs. Serbia, July 28, 1914.
 Bulgaria vs. Serbia, Oct. 14, 1915.
 China vs. Austria, Aug. 14, 1917.
 China vs. Germany, Aug. 14, 1917.
 Cuba vs. Germany, April 7, 1917.

France vs. Austria, Aug. 12, 1914.
 France vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 18, 1915.
 France vs. Germany, Aug. 3, 1914.
 Germany vs. France, Aug. 3, 1914.
 Germany vs. Portugal, March 9, 1916.
 Germany vs. Russia, Aug. 1, 1914.
 Great Britain vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
 Great Britain vs. Austria, Aug. 12, 1914.
 Great Britain vs. Germany, Aug. 5, 1914.
 Great Britain vs. Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.
 Greece (Provisional Government) vs. Bulgaria, Nov. 28, 1916.
 Greece (Provisional Government) vs. Germany, Nov. 28, 1916.
 Greece vs. Bulgaria, July 2, 1917.
 Greece vs. Germany, July 2, 1917.
 Italy vs. Austria, Aug. 21, 1915.
 Italy vs. Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1914.
 Italy vs. Germany, Aug. 28, 1916.
 Japan vs. Germany, Aug. 23, 1914.
 Liberia vs. Germany, Aug. 4, 1917.
 Montenegro vs. Austria, Aug. 10, 1914.
 Panama vs. Germany, April 7, 1917.
 Rumania vs. Austria, Aug. 27, 1916.
 Serbia vs. Turkey, Dec. 2, 1914.
 Siam vs. Austria, July 21, 1917.
 Siam vs. Germany, July 21, 1917.
 Turkey vs. Allies, Nov. 23, 1914.
 Turkey vs. Rumania, Aug. 29, 1916.
 United States vs. Germany, April 6, 1917.



Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From September 19 Up to and Including October 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

Congress adjourned on Oct. 6, after passing measures appropriating \$21,000,000,000 for war purposes, and enacting the War Revenue bill, which provided for the raising of \$2,700,000,000 by taxation.

The campaign for the second Liberty Loan—an issue of \$3,000,000,000—opened Oct. 1. President Wilson appointed Oct. 24 Liberty Loan Day.

Colonel Edward M. House was appointed by the President to gather data that would be needed by American envoys to the peace conference.

A proclamation governing the distribution and licensing of foodstuffs was issued by the President on Oct. 10.

The Trading with the Enemy act, which was passed by Congress, was put into effect by an order issued by President Wilson on Oct. 14. It provided for the supervision of all exports and imports, for the use of enemy patents, for a strict censorship of news, and for licensing of foreign-language publications. The Exports Administrative Board was replaced by the War Trade Board.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamships Lewis Luckenbach and Platura were sunk. An American destroyer was torpedoed by a German submarine in European waters on Oct. 16. A petty officer was killed and five men were injured. The vessel was disabled, but managed to reach port.

England's losses for the week ended Sept. 23 included thirteen vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Sept. 30, eleven; for the week ended Oct. 7, fourteen, and for the week ended Oct. 14, eighteen. A British destroyer was sunk at the entrance to the English Channel on Sept. 23. The cruiser Drake was destroyed, and an officer and eighteen men were killed. Fifty-six lives were lost when the cruiser Champagne was sunk.

French and Italian losses averaged two or three vessels of over 1,600 tons each week. The French munitions steamer Medie was torpedoed in the Mediterranean on Sept. 23, and 250 lives were lost.

Norway lost nineteen ships in September. The Chinese ship Glenogle was sunk.

The Argentine Senate voted for a break with Germany on Sept. 19, and on Sept. 22 the Government sent an ultimatum to Berlin demanding an explanation of the behavior of Count Luxburg and a repetition of the promise made

concerning Argentine shipping. On Sept. 23, just as the Chamber of Deputies was preparing to vote for a break in relations, a message was received from Berlin repudiating Luxburg. The Chamber voted on Sept. 25 to sever relations, but President Irigoyen refused to act.

Costa Rica severed relations with Germany. Peru sent an ultimatum to Germany on Sept. 26, demanding that satisfaction be given for the sinking of the bark Lorton. On Oct. 5 the Senate and Chamber voted to sever diplomatic relations, and the German Minister was given his passports on Oct. 6.

Ecuador announced that Dr. Perl, the German Minister to Peru and Ecuador, would not be received by the Ecuadorian Government.

Uruguay severed relations with Germany Oct. 7, and waived her neutrality rules in favor of the Allies.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Sept. 22—Germans capture Jacobstadt, together with positions on a front of 26 miles, six miles deep, on the west bank of the Dvina River.

Sept. 24—Russians occupy German positions in the Silzeme sector.

Sept. 25—Russians repulse attacks on positions south of the Pskov-Riga highroad.

Oct. 1—Russians advance in the Riga region, pushing the foe back in the Spitals Farm sector.

Oct. 13—Germans land troops on the coast of the Gulf of Tagalab, and on Oesel and Dagö Islands; garrison of Oesel fights the invaders.

Oct. 14—Germans occupy the whole northern and eastern part of Oesel Island, but fail in attempt to seize Moon Island.

Oct. 15—German forces occupy Orenburg on Oesel Island.

Oct. 16—Germans extend their gains on Oesel Island and institute an offensive against the Sverb peninsula.

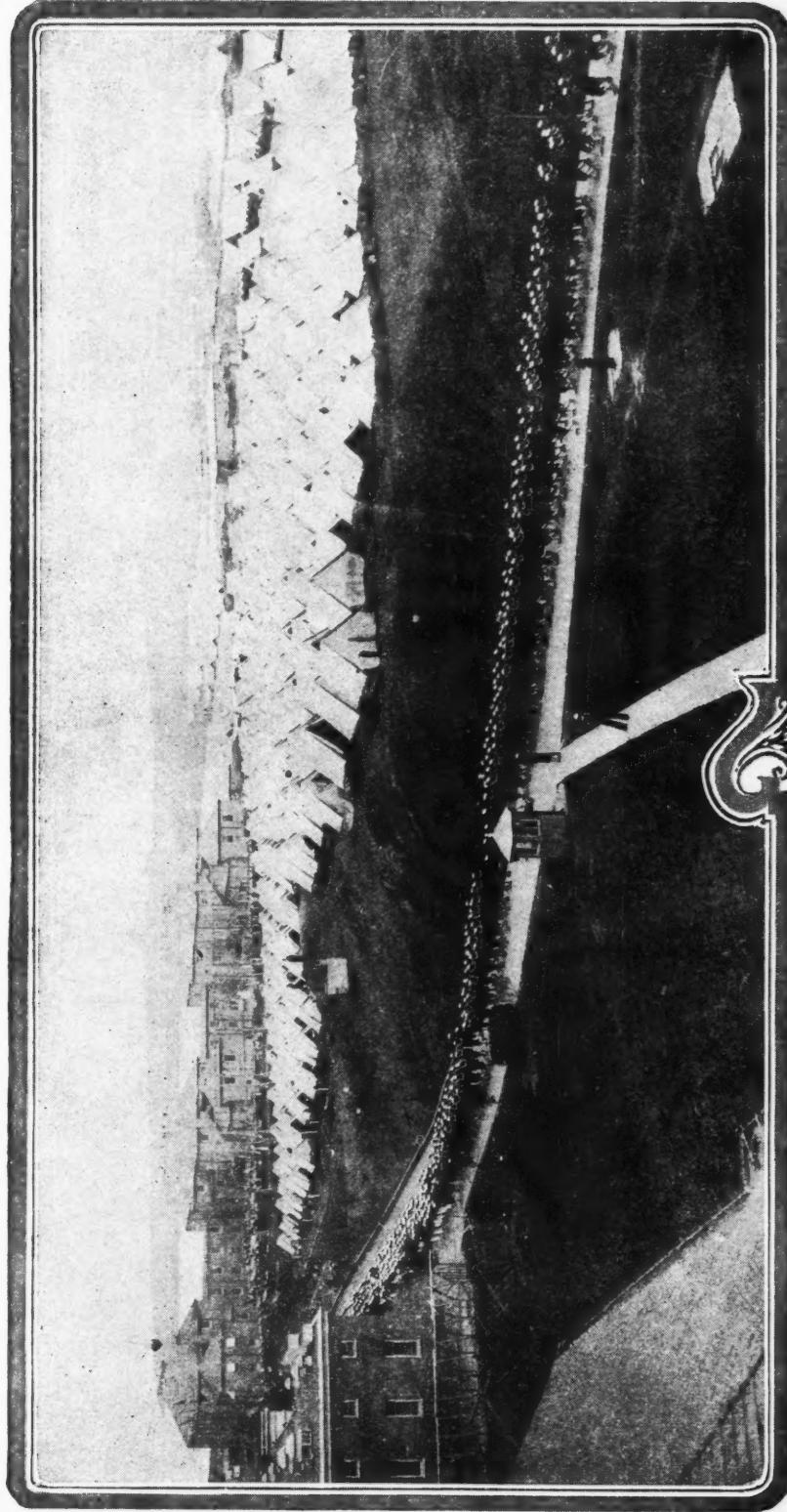
Oct. 17—Germans take the entire island of Oesel and crush Russian force on Sverb peninsula; Russians frustrate their attempt to throw a bridge across the Dvina River.

Oct. 18—Germans capture Moon Island.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Sept. 20—British penetrate German line on eight-mile front along the Ypres-Menin road to a depth of more than a mile and capture the villages of Velahock and Zevenkote; French repulse attacks southeast of Cernay.

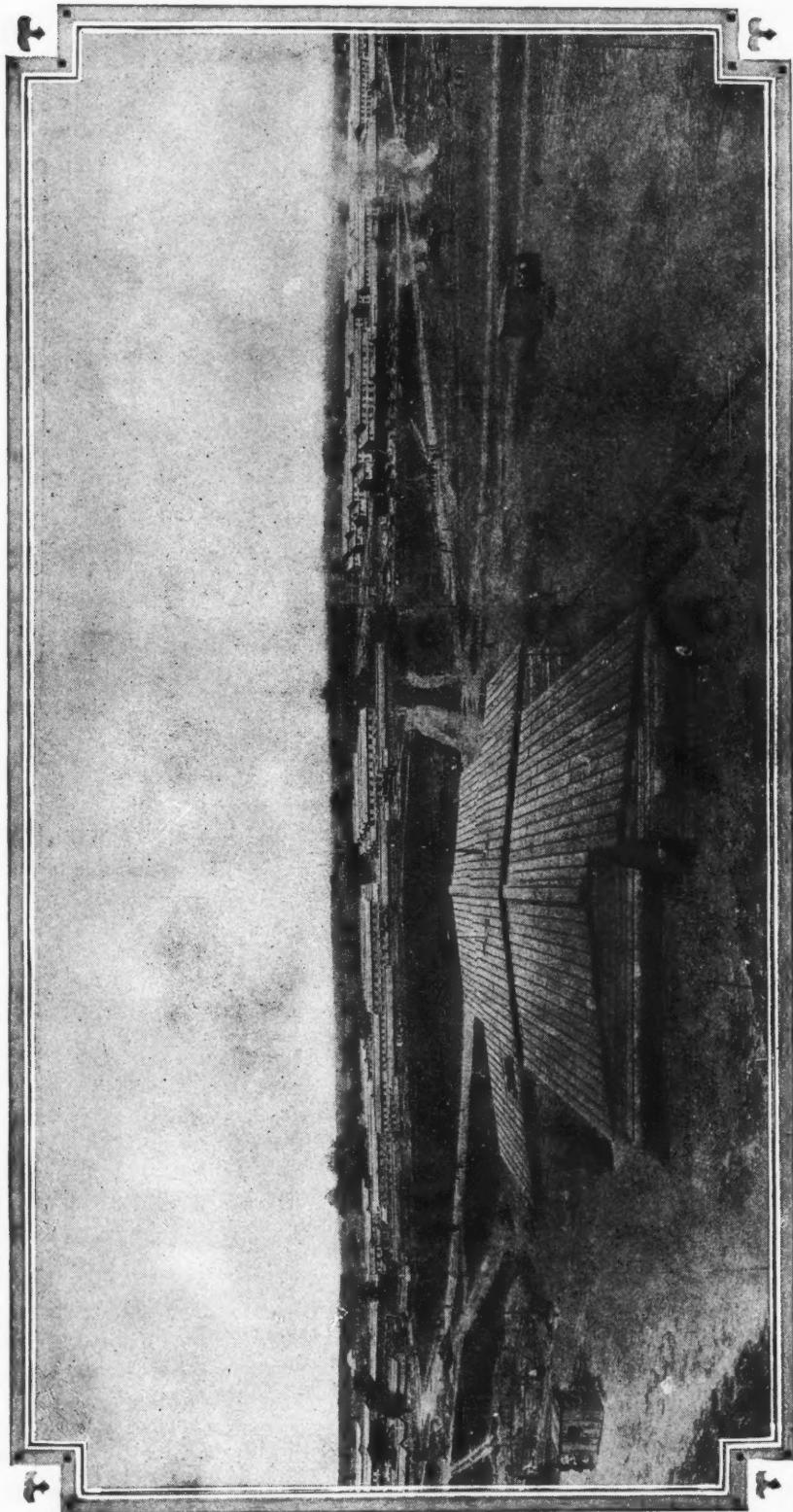
UNITED STATES NAVAL ENCAMPMENT AT NEWPORT



Men of the United States Navy, Stationed at Newport, R. I., Marching to Church to Hear a Sermon by Dr. Manning of Trinity Church,
New York City

(© Press Illustrated Service)

A TYPICAL CANTONMENT OF THE NATIONAL ARMY



(© Underwood & Underwood)
General View of Camp Dix, Where New Jersey's Drafted Men Are Being Trained for Service in the National Army

Sept. 21—British thrust Germans from their last strong point northeast of Langemarck and consolidate their gains; Germans in Champagne lose heavily in unsuccessful attack on Mont Haut.

Sept. 22—German counterattacks south of the Ypres-Menin Road repulsed.

Sept. 24—French repulse German attacks north of Bezonvauz and near Beaumont.

Sept. 26—British pierce German line on a four-mile front in the Zonnebeke region.

Sept. 27-28—British repulse seven fierce counterattacks east of Ypres.

Sept. 30—British break up German offensive near Tower Hamlets.

Oct. 1-3—Germans fail in attempt to drive British from new positions east of Ypres.

Oct. 4—British advance on an eight-mile front from north of Langemarck to a point south of Tower Hamlets, winning the crest of the Passchendaele Heights.

Oct. 5—French repulse surprise attacks on the Aisne, in Champagne, and in Upper Alsace.

Oct. 9—British drive Germans from their last positions in Poelcapelle and push on for nearly two miles to the northwest; French pierce German positions to a depth of a mile and a quarter on a mile and a half front, capturing St. Jean de Mangelaers and Veldehoek.

Oct. 10—French gain more ground toward Houthulst Forest; Germans northeast of Verdun reach advanced French lines near the Bois de Chaume.

Oct. 13—British advance southwest of Passchendaele Village and take part of Houthulst Wood.

Oct. 15—Germans bombard British positions south of Broosseinde.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 23—Italians repulse Austrian attacks on the Bainsizza Plateau in the region of Kal and west of Volnik.

Sept. 24—Italians repulse Austrian counterattacks in Marmolada region.

Sept. 29—Italians gain ground by surprise attacks above Gorizia.

Sept. 30—Italians capture high ground south of Podlaca and southeast of Madoni, in new drive on the Bainsizza Plateau.

Oct. 3—Italians repulse attacks on the western slopes of San Gabriele.

Oct. 15—Heavy fighting on the Julian front; Italians make successful attack on the southern slopes of Monte Rombon.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Sept. 28—British capture Mushaid Ridge and occupy Ramadie on the Euphrates, taking prisoner Ahmed Bey, the Turkish commander, and his staff.

Oct. 4—Arabs, in revolt against the Turks, have effected a junction with the British in southern Palestine and control the Hedjaz Railway as far north as Maan.

Oct. 5—Russians in the Kikatsh-Amadia sector of the Caucasian front take the vil-

lage of Nereman, 50 miles north of Mosul; British advance up the Tigris.

Oct. 11—Turks repulsed by Russians southwest of Erzingan.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 19—Rumanians attack Austro-German positions south of Grozecchi.

Oct. 6—Russians on the Rumanian front check attack near Radautz; Bulgarians take Russian positions north of the Buzu River, but lose them by counterattacks.

Oct. 15—Scottish troops raid Homondos on the Struma front.

AERIAL RECORD

German aviators bombarded London and the southeast coast of England on Sept. 24. Fifteen persons were killed and seventy injured. The next night another raid was made on London, and seven persons were killed and twenty-six injured. Two German machines were brought down in a raid on Sept. 29; eleven persons were killed and eighty-two injured. Nine persons were killed in a raid on Sept. 30. On Oct. 1 four squadrons of German machines made the strongest air attack yet made on coast towns; ten persons were killed and thirty-eight injured.

British naval airmen bombarded Ostend, Zeebrugge, and other Belgian coast towns, and dropped bombs on German bases back of the Flanders line.

The French raided German bases from Lorraine to Belgium, and bombarded Frankfurt-am-Main, Stuttgart, Treves, Coblenz, and Baden.

The Germans made several air raids in the Baltic, in the region of the Gulf of Riga.

NAVAL RECORD

British warships bombarded German naval works at Ostend on Sept. 22.

The presence of two German raiders in the South Pacific Ocean, manned by the crew of the German raider *Seeadler*, was announced by the Navy Department, and allied warships scoured the seas to find them.

The Italians captured an Austrian destroyer in the Adriatic Sea.

German warships silenced Russian batteries on Oesel and Dagö Islands as their troops landed on Oct. 13. In an engagement between Russian and German naval forces on Oct. 14, in Soesia Sound, two German torpedoboats were sunk and two damaged. One Russian torpedo boat was sunk. On Oct. 18 the Germans seized Moon Island, trapping the Russian battleships in the Gulf of Riga, and sinking the battleship *Slava*.

RUSSIA

General Alexeieff resigned as Chief of the General Staff. Premier Kerensky appointed General Tcheremisoff to succeed him.

General Soukholinoff, former Minister of War, was sentenced to hard labor for life after conviction on the charges of high treason, abuse of confidence, and fraud. His wife was acquitted.

M. Terestchenko resigned as Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of Five.

The Congress of Non-Slav Nationalities met in Kiev and passed a resolution declaring that Russia must be a federal democratic republic.

A revolution occurred in Turkestan against the Government at Petrograd.

The Democratic Congress was held in Petrograd. It declared in favor of a coalition Government, with the bourgeois element excluded, and opposed coalition with the entire Constitutional Democratic Party.

Kerensky formed a coalition Ministry, including four Constitutional Democrats.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria-Hungary and Germany replied to the Pope's peace proposal, accepting his offer as a basis for the beginning of negotiations, but avoiding any suggestion of definite concessions. It has been reported that Germany sent a supplementary note offering to give up Belgium for trade and military guarantees on condition that Belgium maintain administrative separation of the Flanders and Walloon districts.

France has been investigating reports of acts of treason. Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, was accused by Leon Daudet of betraying secrets to Germany. Deputy Louis Turmel was arrested on a charge of trading with the enemy. Bolo Pasha was arrested as a spy, and revela-

tions concerning his efforts in the United States to buy control of the French press in the interests of a separate peace with Germany were made public. In this plot, former Ambassador von Bernstorff was found to be involved.

Great Britain declared an absolute embargo on the northern neutrals to stop the sending of supplies into Germany, and cut off all commercial cable communication with Holland until the Netherlands Government should place an absolute restriction on the transit of war materials through Holland from Germany to Belgium. In retaliation, Holland stopped all ships to England.

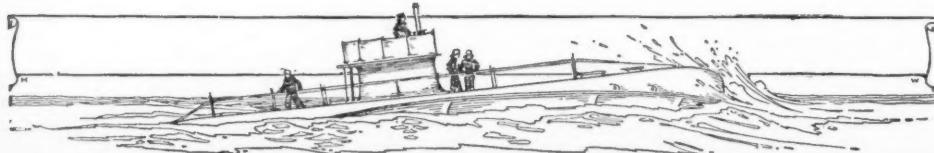
Vice Admiral Capelle announced in the German Reichstag on Oct. 9 that a plot had been discovered in the navy to paralyze the fleet so as to force the Government to make peace. A mutiny occurred on warships at Wilhelmshaven. Three men were shot and over a hundred sentenced to prison. The blame was put on the Socialists. Capelle resigned on Oct. 12. On Oct. 18 another mutiny was reported among sailors at Ostend who refused to go on board submarines, and serious mutinies occurred in the Austrian Navy at the Pola and Flume bases because of bad food conditions and inhuman treatment by officers.

The Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary named a Council of Regency for Poland.

The Swedish Minister at Washington asked the aid of the United States in obtaining the release of official mail held by the British Embassy in Washington.

A Homesick Soldier's Letters

A French soldier, René des Touches, tells in his "Pages of Glory and Suffering" a little story that actually happened. In his regiment at the front there was a brave little fellow who was depressed because he never received any letters. Every day the "vaguemestre," or baggage officer, brought mail for others—letters from wives, sweethearts, and friends—and while the fortunate poilus retired in silence to devour the precious words from home, the lonely man endured new pangs of homesickness. But one day a letter—a real letter, delightfully long—came for this man, who had been born in one of the invaded provinces; and that was the beginning of a regular correspondence, soon, alas! cut short by his death in a gallant charge. Before dying, he had had the joy of thinking that some one back yonder, far from the front, had thought of him. The little story ends with these words: "Now, it was the good baggage officer, who, seeing the desolation in the eyes of the lonely man, had written those letters."



Mobilizing Our Industries for War

Story of the Wonderful Transformation Which the First Six Months of War Have Produced in American Industrial and Commercial Life

THE development of highly technical methods of waging war, especially as regards the vast quantities of supplies which are required for armies of millions of men, but which can be produced only by a great and efficient industrial system, has given the United States a unique opportunity of demonstrating its power and resourcefulness in the creation of what has been called "the army behind the army."

Six months have now passed since the United States entered the war, and, although there had been comparatively little preparation, a great transformation has already taken place in industry, trade, and finance. Governmental functions have been enormously extended, but there has been no interference with private enterprise such as this suggests, because the business men of the nation have voluntarily come forward to co-operate with the Government or relieve the Government of many heavy burdens by taking control themselves of the new war administration which has been brought into existence at Washington alongside the political organization we know as the United States Government.

Council of National Defense

The central body of this new war administration, the directing authority of the nation's industrial mobilization, is the Council of National Defense, which was appointed by President Wilson before the United States went to war, when he realized that sooner or later the nation would be forced to fight. The council, however, was not an entirely new creation, but the result of a development which had begun with the preparedness movement. The business men of America had seen Great Britain go through a year or more of confusion in readjusting the activities of a highly developed industrial nation to the needs of modern warfare, so that when the United States

joined the Allies there were at least the beginnings of organization. Moreover, America had already become a great munition manufacturing country, and in this respect was in a much more favorable position in April, 1917, than Great Britain in August, 1914. As the months went on and the belief grew that there was more than a possibility of the United States not being able to keep out of the war, manufacturers and business organizers awoke to the fact that military preparedness was valueless without industrial preparedness; and from the time of the sinking of the Lusitania onward the question of economic mobilization began to be studied with increasing seriousness.

The Navy Department took one of the first steps toward linking up the nation's fighting forces more closely with the industrial system. The Naval Consulting Board was established, and to it eleven engineering and other scientific societies were invited to send two representatives each. This meant that the scientists, inventors, and technical experts of the nation were now definitely enlisted to use their brains for the security of the nation. The next thing to do was to enlist the actual controllers and organizers of production.

This was done by forming a Committee on Industrial Preparedness, under the Chairmanship of Howard E. Coffin, engineer, automobile manufacturer, and one of the nation's captains of industry. The committee undertook and carried through a very remarkable piece of work by making a complete survey of the whole industrial capacity of the United States for the purposes of war. Over 29,000 factories and plants furnished full information regarding their equipment, output, the number and skill of their workmen, and an estimate of what they could produce in the way of munitions or other warlike material if called upon to do so.

The information thus obtained was collated in proper form, and from that time onward the Committee on Industrial Preparedness knew how to turn the industrial activities to their most effective use in case of war.

The Council of National Defense was the direct result of the Committee on Industrial Preparedness, and was appointed by President Wilson to take the place of the latter when he realized that sooner or later the nation might be at war. The council was made up of the Secretaries of War, the Navy, the Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture, and an Advisory Commission of seven nonofficial citizens, namely, Howard E. Coffin, Daniel Willard, a railroad President; Julius Rosenwald, head of the nation's greatest mail-order business; Bernard Baruch, a leading figure in Wall Street; Hollis Godfrey, engineer and technicologist; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Franklin Martin, representing the medical profession.

Under the Council of National Defense there has gradually grown up a large number of boards and subsidiary committees, each manned by experts and business men, and each charged with some special duty in utilizing the economic resources of the nation for war purposes. In addition there are various new Governmental bodies which are responsible for the carrying out of legislative enactments or exercising powers conferred upon them by the President, such as the Food Administration Board and the Shipping Board.

War Industries Board

Originally, the most important body under the Council of National Defense was the General Munitions Board, with Frank A. Scott as Chairman. But at the end of July it was reorganized as the War Industries Board, with Mr. Scott again at the head, and consisting of only seven members, all practically selected by President Wilson himself, and all responsible to him through the Council of National Defense.

Associated with Mr. Scott on the board are Lieut. Col. Palmer E. Pierce, representing the army; Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, representing the navy;

Bernard M. Baruch, Robert S. Brookings, Robert S. Lovett, and Hugh Frayne.

The change became necessary because volunteer workers in the war service of the Government were buying from themselves as producers and selling to themselves as agents of the Government. The fact that they had no power to buy or to fix prices, but only to recommend where things might be bought and to suggest prices, was generally lost sight of by those who feared the dangers of graft, but even the appearance of the possibility of graft has been done away with by the scrapping of the old Munitions Board and the creation of the new Board of War Industries. The Council of Defense, in the statement announcing the organization of the new board, said that this action "makes clear that there is a total dissociation of the industrial committees from the actual arrangement of purchases in behalf of the Government."

The War Industries Board is also an improvement in the greater power it has of recommending prices. Under the old régime it was only possible for the Munitions Board to suggest a price for a specific purchase at the request of the War or Navy Department, that suggestion having no official weight in the matter of the next purchase of the same commodity by the same department. Now the War Industries Board may suggest a price that will hold until it sees fit to modify it because of economic changes.

Under the old board there was some effort to determine priority of supplying needs of this or that department for any given necessity, but the machinery was quite inadequate. It has now been perfected by the new board. The appointment of Hugh Frayne, the labor union organizer, as one of the seven, gives the workingmen of the country fuller representation in the vital war organizations. The War Industries Board may be summed up as the American equivalent of the British and French Munitions Ministers, with the difference that its head does not occupy a place in the Cabinet.

Mr. Scott, describing the functions of the War Industries Board, said:

It is absolutely essential for co-ordinating our industries and putting them behind our military forces in the most effective manner. Furthermore, it is one of the chief duties of such an organization not only to obtain the available supply on the best terms, but to develop a greater supply, for which there is present lack of producing facilities. We must foresee the military necessities for a long time to come, and see that provision is made for them in advance, for the sake of the army and navy and for the sake of normal industry.

As an illustration we will take a manufacturer with a forge who has never made gun forgings, but who has the facilities to do so. That manufacturer must be persuaded to devote his plant to serving the country's new need. And so on through all forms of industry from which war supplies are obtained.

The best example of what may be obtained for the Government and of what waste the Government may be protected from by co-ordination is offered by the tangible, simple case of buying cotton duck for the army and navy. The Quartermaster's Department of the army uses duck for tentage; the Ordnance Department uses it for haversacks and kit carriers; the Medical Department uses it for hospital cots; the Signal Corps uses duck in aviation supplies. The need of this commodity in the navy is about as widespread. In peace times each one of these sub-departments buys its own supply of duck without reference to what another department is doing or paying to get the same commodity. But with the beginning of war the needs of every one of these separate departments become so vast, not only in the matter of cotton duck, but for guns and ammunition and vehicles and raw materials and all other supplies, that their independent and separate buying would be fatal. They would bid against each other in a rapidly rising market, and an incidental evil would be that the lesser need might get supplied before the greater need. It was to prevent all this that the General Munitions Board was hurriedly put together at the outset of the war, and it is to prevent it still more effectively as well as to accomplish other things that the new board has been created.

It was announced on Oct. 8 that war service committees representing the several industries furnishing war supplies to the Government were to be organized to take the place of the subordinate advisory committees of the Council of National Defense. The new committees will have no official connection with the Council of Defense, but serve the Gov-

ernment as consulting agents after the manner of the existing committees. This arrangement abolishes the technical dual function so far exercised by several members of the Council of National Defense organization, which made it possible for them to represent the Government and their own concerns in the same transaction. "We have realized that there were "technical objections to the organization of these subordinate committees "for some time," said Walter S. Gifford, Director of the Council of National Defense. "Section 3 of the Food bill, "which expressly forbids Government officials to participate in the negotiation of contracts in which they are interested, really put into the statutes a "policy which we had been following "since the organization of these committees. In no case has one of these committees ever reported or recommended directly to the purchasing officers of the Government. It has been "our policy to have the committee recommendations pass first through the "hands of a disinterested committee of "the council, which has in many cases "rejected the original recommendations."

From the industries represented by the committees the Defense Council will select experts to serve as advisers to the War Industries Board. These men will be required to sever their business connections that there may be no question of their eligibility to act for the Government in dealing with sellers. Twenty-two members of the advisory committees of the council, Director Gifford said, had offered their resignations out of a membership of more than 300, but in no case had these been accepted. The resigned members were continuing to serve the council in an advisory capacity.

Spending Ten Billion Dollars

The buying activities of the War Industries Board are under the supervision of a subsidiary committee, consisting of ex-Judge Robert S. Lovett, (head of the Union Pacific Railroad,) Robert S. Brookings, and Bernard M. Baruch, who, in the course of America's first year in the war, are handling orders for more than ten billion dollars. Mr. Baruch's

duty is to watch over the supply of metals and other raw materials, both for the United States and for the allied Governments. In the buying of steel he is assisted by J. Leonard Replogle, President of the American Vanadium Company, head of the Wharton Steel Company, and one of the ablest organizers in the steel business, while the copper buyer is Eugene Meyer, Jr., a well-known Stock Exchange man. Judge Lovett's work is to decide questions of priority in the distribution of orders among producers and the apportionment of deliveries. On priority matters affecting steel he has the assistance of Mr. Replogle. Mr. Brookings deals with finished products. Herbert C. Hoover, the Food Administrator, acts with the buying committee in all matters pertaining to foodstuffs.

Buying for Other Nations

Further importance attaches to the buying committee because of its co-operation with the war missions which the allied Governments have sent to the United States. Formal agreements were signed on Aug. 24, 1917, by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, on behalf of the United States, and by Lord Northcliffe, special representative of the British Government; M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and M. Bakhmeteff, the Russian Ambassador, for the creation of a commission, with headquarters at Washington, through which all purchases made by the allied Governments must proceed. The agreements named Messrs. Baruch, Lovett, and Brookings as the commission who were selected as members of the War Industries Board to co-ordinate the purchases of the United States with those of the allied powers. The Italian, Belgian, and Serbian diplomatic representatives at Washington subsequently signed agreements to make all purchases through the buying commission.

The necessity of making the buying commission of the War Industries Board act in a similar capacity for the Allies arose from the many disadvantages resulting from the competitive buying of belligerent countries in the United States. France, for example, has been buying copper in very large amounts in this

country at a price far in excess of that likely to be paid by the United States under existing agreements with the copper syndicate. Similar instances were also found in the matter of buying wheat and meat supplies. In some cases it was found that agents of the allied countries had combed the Western markets for grain months in advance of any efforts of American buyers and had large quantities of materials stored awaiting favorable conditions of shipment, while prices went upward in consequence of the steadily increasing scarcity of certain staples.

War Prices for the Allies

The War Industries Board and its Central Purchasing Commission began now to put into effect the policy outlined in the statement issued by the board on Aug. 8, in the course which it was said:

In the purchase of war materials in this country our allies shall be charged no more than our own Government has to pay. Guns and ammunition employed against our enemy are for our benefit as much when used by our allies as when used by our own men; and it is obviously unjust to require our allies when fighting our battles to pay our own people more than our own Government pays for the materials necessary to carry on the war. A mere statement of the proposition seems enough; and we are confident that our manufacturers, who have so patriotically responded thus far to the calls of our Government in this emergency, will readily accept this policy.

But this policy has two important limitations. First, it is to be reciprocal. The Allies must henceforth apply the same principle in dealing with their own producers and in selling to us and in selling to each other. Second, the arrangement must be limited to war materials in order to protect our own industry. We must not allow raw materials sold by our producers at prices patriotically conceded to our Government and its allies for war purposes to be diverted to industry and trade abroad which may come in competition with our own manufacturers and producers. Measures will be taken by the board for the best possible assurance that materials sold at a concession in price for war purposes shall be applied only to war purposes.

In fixing the prices to be paid by the Governments we shall allow a reasonable profit, but shall deny the extortion now exacted for many commodities of prime necessity.

The war makes enormous drafts upon many raw materials absolutely necessary

to the industrial life of the nation and to the ordinary existence of the people. This has resulted in the bidding up of prices for what is left of many materials of prime necessity in manufacture to a point obviously out of all relation to the cost of production, and involving unconscionable profits on our national resources, and the consequence is that the cost to the public of all the articles in the manufacture of which such materials enter has reached a level never before known.

The determination of production costs—and hence of prices—comes largely within the sphere of the Federal Trade Commission, which was in existence before the United States went to war. It had power to take over coal supplies, and, if necessary, resell to the consumer. But in this respect its functions were handed over to a new administrative body, to which reference will presently be made. The Federal Trade Commission has undertaken a national food survey, an investigation into flour milling conditions, and other tasks of discovering the extent of supplies and costs of production, with a view to fixing prices. President Wilson has depended largely upon the commission for information of this nature in connection with his measures to regulate prices.

Fixing Prices of Steel

An interesting example of how prices have been fixed is seen in the case of steel. When the war began in 1914 the steel producers were getting \$14 for pig iron, \$23 for steel bars, and \$22.80 for plates. Two years later these prices had risen to \$24, \$49.60, and \$56.40; but until a few weeks ago they were still higher—\$58, \$110, and \$160, that is, from four to seven times higher. The profits earned by the iron and steel producing companies eclipsed almost anything else in the industrial history of the country. In accordance with his repeated declarations against profiteering, President Wilson took steps to reduce prices of steel for the Government, for the Allies, and for the public to a more reasonable level. On Sept. 21 representatives of the big steel interests, including Judge E. H. Gary and J. A. Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation and President Grace and Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Company, were summoned to Wash-

ington to confer with the War Industries Board. The result was a voluntary agreement under which prices were cut one-half or more. According to an official statement the savings amounted to from 40 to 70 per cent. The agreement, as approved by the President, became effective immediately, but is subject to revision on Jan. 1, 1918. The following was the schedule of prices contained in the official statement issued on Sept. 24:

	Price	Agreed	Recent	Reduction.
Commodity.	Basis.	Upon.	Price.	Am't. P.C.
Iron ore:				
Lower Lake ports	*\$5.05	**\$5.05		...
Coke:				
Connellsville	....	†6.00	†16.00	\$10.00 62.5
Pig iron	*33.00	*58.00	25.00	43.1
Steel bars:				
Pittsb'h, Chicago.	‡2.90	‡5.50	2.60	47.3
Shapes:				
Pittsb'h, Chicago	‡3.00	‡6.00	3.00	50.0
Plates:				
Pittsb'h, Chicago	‡3.25	‡11.00	7.75	70.5

*Gross tons. †Net tons. ‡Hundredweight.

It was stipulated that there should be no reduction in the present rate of wages; that these prices should be made to the public and to the Allies as well as to the Government; and that the steel men pledged themselves to exert every effort necessary to keep up the production to the maximum of the past, so long as the war lasts.

It was stated by some who fought for radical reductions that the United States Steel Corporation could produce plates at from \$34 to \$36 a net ton. While \$65 steel will represent a large profit, much of this will enter the Government coffers by means of war taxes. It is understood that the prices contained in the agreement will not affect existing contracts, at least where war work is involved. The United States Shipping Board, through its Emergency Fleet Corporation, has been paying \$50 a ton on account for steel plates, pending the announcement of the Government price. On all its work the \$65 price for plates will be paid, and, as it involves something like 2,000,000 tons in the next year, this will mean an increase of approximately \$30,000,000 over the tentative payments agreed upon. The Navy Department has been paying, under agreement with the steel industry, \$58 a ton

for plates. This price will be maintained for the contracts already entered into, and the navy will then join the other Governmental agencies, the Allies, and the public in paying \$65 for its plates.

Private Purchasers Must Wait

Coincident with the announcement of the agreement, Judge Lovett, as Chairman of the Priority Board, issued a statement placing the distribution of iron and steel under absolute control by license. Preference is given to the War and Navy Departments and the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board. Next comes the supply for the needs of the Allies. Private interests not engaged in war work must wait until the last before obtaining supplies. It was also announced that the constitution of Judge Lovett's Priority Board was now complete, the other members appointed being Major Gen. J. B. Aleshire, George Armsby, Rear Admiral N. E. Mason, Edwin B. Parker, J. Leonard Reogle, and Rear Admiral A. V. Zane.

The price of copper has been fixed at 23½ cents a pound. Previously to this the Government carried through one of its first transactions as buyer for the Allies by purchasing 77,600,000 pounds of copper at 25 cents a pound.

Coal Prices

Coal has also been brought under the jurisdiction of the Government. President Wilson, on Aug. 23, signed an ex-

ecutive order appointing Dr. Harry A. Garfield, President of Williams College, to the position of Fuel Administrator. This was done under the authority conferred upon the President by the act of Aug. 10, which provides for the control of the distribution of food products and fuel. He had, on Aug. 21, fixed a scale of prices for bituminous coal, ranging from about \$2 to \$3 a ton, according to district and grade; and on the day he named Dr. Garfield as Fuel Administrator he fixed the prices of anthracite coal at the mine from \$4 to \$5.30 a ton, according to grade, and set forth the conditions under which jobbers would be permitted to operate. The regulation of the retail trade in both bituminous and anthracite coal was left to Dr. Garfield, with authority to use drastic means to protect the consumer from exploitation. The conditions under which the dealers are to sell coal are being formulated by the Fuel Administrator in co-operation with the Federal Trade Commission. To save the coal situation in the Northwest Dr. Garfield issued an order on Oct 1 stopping temporarily the shipment of coal into Canada from the lake ports. In this way it was hoped to divert a large quantity to the Northwest, where the need for immediate supplies was being acutely felt.

The coal prices fixed by the Government were contested by the mine operators, and a diminution of output has followed, with some disorganization of the industry.

All Railroads United in One System

The war has had a remarkable effect upon the management of the railroads. Here there has been practically no intervention by the Government, and yet, almost at a stroke, the railroads were placed under centralized control as soon as the nation was at war. The vastness of this enterprise may be appreciated when it is stated that the number of railroads thus merged into one great national system was 693, operating 262,000 miles of track, using 2,326,987 freight cars, employing 1,750,000 persons, and owned by 1,500,000 security holders.

The initiation of this great step in industrial mobilization took place at a meeting at Washington on April 11, 1917, when fifty railroad Presidents representing the transportation business of the entire country responded to the appeal of Secretary Lane and Daniel Willard, Chairman of the Advisory Commission of the National Defense Council, by deciding to co-operate and eliminate all competitive activities. The President appointed a commission of five of the most experienced railroad officers in the country, with plenary powers to establish policies

for any or all of the railroads of the country. Independent companies for the time being abdicated their independent functions and intrusted their operations to the direction of this committee, with the single purpose of obtaining for the nation a maximum of transportation efficiency.

The fundamental feature of the arrangement is that instead of the Government assuming any responsibility, as has been done in Great Britain, for the operation of the railroads under wartime conditions, that responsibility is placed upon railroad officers.

The Railroads' War Board, presided over by Daniel Willard, is part of the Council of National Defense and works through an Executive Committee, of which Fairfax Harrison is chief, with Robert S. Lovett as director of priority shipments.

Achievements of Railroad Board

In a statement issued on Sept. 9 the board reviewed its achievements during the first five months of its existence:

The voluntary act of the 693 railroads of this country in merging their competitive activities for the period of the war and uniting in one continental system has not only made the transportation problem presented by the war less cumbersome to handle, but surer of satisfactory solution.

In addition to welding into one loyal army each and every one of the 1,750,000 persons employed by the railroads, the co-ordination of the nation's carriers has made possible the most intensive use of every locomotive, every freight car, every mile of track, and every piece of railroad equipment in the country. It has also facilitated the securing of invaluable co-operation from the shippers and the general public.

Skilled and experienced railroad men have been sent to every cantonment to assist the constructing Quartermaster there in the movement of all supplies necessary to the erection and maintenance of these military cities. A trained executive has also been stationed in the Washington Headquarters of the Supervising Constructing Quartermaster, so that every car needed in the transportation of Government supplies might be made available when needed. As a result of these co-operative activities, the movement of thousands of carloads of lumber and

other supplies has been accomplished practically without a hitch.

In addition, at the request of the Government, plans have been perfected whereby 1,000,000 men will be moved from nearly 5,000 different points to the thirty-two training camps for the National Army and National Guard by Oct. 20.

Among some of the things accomplished by the board in the first four months of its existence have been the organizing of special equipment for hospital and troop train service, the standardization of settlements between the Government and the railroads, eliminating a large volume of correspondence and red tape, and the creation of a special committee on express transportation, to co-ordinate the work of the companies with the general problem of transportation.

Car shortage has been reduced 70 per cent. On April 30 the so-called car shortage amounted to 148,627; on June 30 these figures had been cut to 77,144; on Aug. 1 the excess of unfilled car requisitions over idle cars amounted to only 33,776.

In May freight transportation service rendered by about 75 per cent. of Class 1 roads—earnings of \$1,000,000 or more—was 16.1 per cent. in excess of the service rendered in 1916. In that year, which was one of unusual activity, the freight service rendered by the carriers was 24 per cent. in excess of that rendered in 1915.

Approximately 20,000,000 miles of train service a year has been saved by the elimination of all passenger trains not essential to the most pressing needs of the country. Freight congestion at many important points has been averted by promptly moving empty cars from one railroad to another, irrespective of ownership. Through the pooling of lake coal and lake ore a saving of 52,000 cars in moving these commodities alone has been achieved. A further saving of 133,000 cars has been made possible by the pooling of tidewater coal.

By regulating the movement of grain for export, the number of cars ordinarily required for this service has been reduced, despite an abnormal export increase this year, 75,682,028 bushels of wheat, corn, barley, and oats being shipped to the Allies from May 1 to July 14. Although the figures on the intensive loading of freight cars are not complete, a sufficient number of reports have been received from the twenty-seven local committees of the War Board to show that commercial bodies and individual shippers in all parts of the country are giving hearty co-operation to the railroads' campaign to make one car do the work of two.

Progress in Solving the Shipping Problem

The creation of an American mercantile marine was described in the October issue of this magazine, (pp. 17-20.) During the month that has since elapsed further important developments have taken place. A revised table showing the shipping facilities upon which the United States and the Allies may depend during the next year or two was issued by the Shipping Board on Sept. 26, 1917. It shows that the Government has under construction in deadweight tonnage, including 400 vessels of foreign ownership which were requisitioned on the stocks, approximately 1,036 cargo vessels of 5,924,700 tons capacity. These vessels have actually been contracted for; some of them were due to be off the stocks before the end of November, 1917, and most of the remainder before the end of 1918. A table prepared by the Shipping Board showed the world's available tonnage in the early part of September, 1917, to be as follows:

United Kingdom—	Atlantic	Pacific
Liners	4,860,000	650,000
Tramps	8,540,000	450,000
Norway	1,800,000	50,000
Sweden	860,000	.....
Denmark	690,000	.....
Holland	1,200,000	275,000
United States	2,000,000	400,000
France	1,600,000	220,000
Italy	1,250,000	70,000
Greece	470,000	.....
Spain	750,000	.....
Portugal	150,000	50,000
Russia	350,000	200,000
Belgium	280,000	.....
South America	600,000	200,000
China .....	.....	35,000
Japan	100,000	1,900,000
Total	25,500,000	5,500,000

Vessels on inland waterways and in the Baltic are estimated at 6,000,000 tons gross; coastwise shipping at 6,000,000 tons, and enemy shipping at approximately 5,000,000 tons. These are not accounted for in the table. The tabulated figures are of peculiar interest as bearing upon the world's ability to fight the submarine menace successfully.

Work of Shipping Board

An important statement was also issued on Sept. 26 by the Shipping Board

regarding its program, which was revised by Chairman Hurley and Rear Admiral Capps, General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. It read in part:

During the past two months the Emergency Fleet Corporation has awarded contracts for 118 wooden vessels, of 3,500 tons deadweight capacity each, to twenty-seven different shipyards. There had previously been awarded contracts for 235 wooden vessels of similar type to the above, and for fifty-eight vessels of composite construction, thereby making a total award to date of 411 wooden and composite vessels of an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 1,460,900. During the past two months the designs for machinery have been completed for the manufacture of engines, boilers, and other articles of equipment for these vessels, for which the facilities available of machine shops and boiler works throughout the country have been availed of. Specifications have been prepared and negotiations outlined and initiated for the assembly and installation of machinery in wooden vessels, the most of which have been, or are being, constructed as "hulls only." Great difficulty has been experienced on the Atlantic coast in obtaining suitable lumber for these ships.

Since Aug. 1 there have been awarded contracts for 155 steel cargo vessels of 1,076,800 deadweight tonnage, distributed among six shipyards. The most important of these contracts are for vessels of the so-called fabricated type, and special shipyards are being prepared for them. Contracts for the boilers, machinery, and steel construction of these vessels have already been placed, and the contractors are actively at work in the preparation of the sites for the assembling of the ships. Previous to Aug. 1 seventy steel cargo vessels of 587,000 tons total deadweight capacity had been contracted for. These vessels were distributed among ten shipyards. Therefore, at the present time the total number of steel vessels under construction for the United States is 225, with a total aggregate deadweight tonnage of 1,603,800.

By proclamation of Aug. 3, 1917, the fleet corporation requisitioned all vessels under construction in the shipyards of the United States of 2,500 tons deadweight capacity and above. The total deadweight tonnage under construction thus acquired, and on which orders have been issued to proceed with maximum expedition, exceeds 2,000,000 tons deadweight. There are now under construction for the Emergency Fleet Corporation:

Type of Vessels.	Number of Vessels.	Total Deadweight Tonnage.
Wood	353	1,253,900
Composite	58	207,000
Steel	225	1,663,000
Requisitioned vessels.....	400	2,800,000
Grand total.....	1,036	5,924,700

In addition to the above, Congress, in a pending bill, is authorizing the construction of additional vessels whose total deadweight capacity will be nearly 5,000,000 tons. Plants for the major portion of these additional vessels are now in course of preparation, and many of them will be of special types adapted to particular necessities of war. With the passage of the pending bill the Congress will have authorized \$1,799,000,000 for the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

The statement said that 150,000 additional workers were required in the shipyards to insure full production.

Merchant Vessels Commandeered

The requisitioning by the Shipping Board of every American merchant vessel of more than 2,500 tons deadweight capacity available for ocean service was announced on Sept. 27. The date fixed for the order to become effective was Oct. 15. A certain number of ships have already been taken over for the army and navy, and of those now requisitioned all except those actually used in Government service are being turned back to their owners for operation on Government account, subject at all times to any disposition the Shipping Board may direct.

Simultaneously with the announcement regarding this step, the charter rates were made public. These rates cut sharply into those formerly charged by American owners for carrying Government supplies. The chartering is under the direction of the Shipping Board's Chartering Commission, to the Chairmanship of which Welding Ring of New York has been appointed. The commission's headquarters are in New York City, and the new rates apply for the present only to the Atlantic. An important side of the commission's work is the solving of the situation created by the act of the British shipping authorities in insisting upon American shipowners securing their approval of transatlantic charters. With the establishment of a

United States Governmental agency, a system of co-operation between the American and allied shipping authorities comes into existence for the best employment of ocean transportation facilities, to the satisfaction of both the Governments concerned and the shipowners.

British View of Emergency

The necessity that the United States should put forth every effort to increase the number of oceangoing ships was emphasized in a statement made on Sept. 28 by the British Controller of Shipping, in the course of which he said:

The question the United States must face is whether, on the basis of the shipbuilding preparations she is now making, it will be possible for her to send any substantial force to France next Spring without such a drain on the world's shipping as will subtract just as much from the fighting strength of the other allies as her own forces will add.

The loss of shipping since the beginning of the ruthless U-boat war is now roughly equal to the total losses prior to that time. By next Spring Germany may be expected to destroy 200 vessels in excess of what are built in the meantime. Next Spring this year's harvest will be largely exhausted and the need of supplying Italy, France, and Great Britain will be largely increased. At the same moment the United States will need a large increase in vessels to transport its army and to maintain it.

What must be the program of the United States? It must be large enough to out-build submarine destruction. Even if this means the building of 6,000,000 tons a year, which is three times the best the British have done, and five or six times what the United States has previously done, this is not impossible if the United States puts into it an effort comparable with the efforts the Allies put into creating their armies, navies, and munitions. To build 6,000,000 tons of shipping would require about 3,500,000 tons of steel, or less than 10 per cent. of her output. It would take not more than 500,000 men, the majority unskilled.

The task thus outlined is small compared with the effort put forth by the principal belligerents in other directions. Great Britain, for example, increased her army from 250,000 to over 5,000,000. She added 250,000 men to her navy and trebled it in size, while in munitions the British effort, whether measured in money, men, or material, has been greater than what is needed for an adequate American shipbuilding program. It would be the most incongruous thing in the history of warfare if the war, in which such immensely

greater strength has been exerted in other directions, should have the issue decided by failure to solve the problem of building 6,000,000 tons of shipping a year in a country with such vast resources as the United States.

The Shortage of Vessels

The predicament of the French Government in not being able to secure ships to convey large quantities of army supplies which were ready to be sent from America was described in a Washington dispatch of Oct. 3. Some of this enormous tonnage had been lying on American piers for more than a year, and the congestion, it was said, was increasing. Supplies ordered and paid for by the French Government were being sent by rail to the seaboard almost every day, but very little was getting across the Atlantic. The statement went on to say that after months of fruitless negotiations with the Shipping Board the French War Commission to the United States had applied to Secretary Baker for ships, and if that move failed an appeal to the President direct would be made. The Shipping Board's reply to the French Commission was that it could not move French material as well as supplies for the American expeditionary force in France. The urgency of the French demand arose from the fact that the supplies included steel for shells and nitrates to make explosives.

Japanese help in solving the shipping

problem was the main question discussed by Viscount Ishii, head of the War Mission to the United States, and Secretary Lansing. Following Viscount Ishii's departure, a statement from a Japanese source showed that Japan could not furnish more ships. That nation, it was said, felt that it was already doing its share in the war and was providing its full quota of ships. One-third of Japan's total oceangoing tonnage is in European waters. This amounts to 300,000 tons. Japanese ships have also been sunk by the German submarines. Business in Japan is suffering from the scarcity of ships to carry goods between the Americas and Japan. At the same time efforts are being made to carry on the peace-time trade of England in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, between India, Australia, and Britain's other possessions, as well as China. Japan has also been the carrier for Russia between the United States and Vladivostok. Japanese industries are suffering from a great shortage of steel plates, especially her shipbuilding industry, for they are dependent now upon the United States for steel.

A way out of the difficulty—a way which would supply Japan with steel and divert Japanese ships to the Atlantic—was subsequently said to have been discovered as the result of further negotiations on the basis of reciprocal service.

Exports Under a Drastic System of Control

No less far-reaching than any of the other war measures sanctioned by Congress during the special session is the large and varied group of regulations dealing with exports. The two acts of Congress which make possible this drastic system of Government control of our foreign commerce are known respectively as the Espionage act, approved June 15, and the Trading with the Enemy act, approved Oct. 6. Both cover a wider range of subjects than their titles indicate. The Espionage act was passed "to punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better enforce

the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes." Among the other purposes is to deal with the publication of seditious matter. The Trading with the Enemy act covers several of the same subjects as the Espionage act and extends powers already granted under that act.

Turning to the executive side, we find that in regard to foreign commerce a new and powerful arm of the Government has been created, first under the name of the Exports Administrative Board, and subsequently in its present form as the War Trade Board, with Vance McCormick in both cases as Chairman. The Board's first task was

to enforce the section in the espionage law "making certain exports in time of war unlawful." Since the law became effective in June the President has issued a number of proclamations; but soon after the enactment of the Trading with the Enemy act on Oct. 6, a new Executive order, issued on Oct. 14, reorganized practically the whole system on a much wider and more drastic basis.

The War Trade Board

The War Trade Board consists of Vance McCormick, Chairman, representing the Secretary of State; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, representing the Secretary of Agriculture; Thomas D. Jones, representing the Secretary of Commerce; Beaver White, representing the Food Administrator; Frank C. Munson, representing the Shipping Board, and a representative of the Secretary of the Treasury.

All but the Treasury representative were members of the Exports Administrative Board, whose work is now being done by the Bureau of Exports of the War Trade Board. The name of the Exports Council was changed to War Trade Council, with the Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board added to its membership, the Secretaries of State, Agriculture and Commerce and the Food Administrator. This body acts in an advisory capacity to the President and the War Trade Board.

An official statement accompanying the President's order explains that previous proclamations forbidding the export of various articles without a license are continued in full force and effect, but new licenses are now granted by the War Trade Board instead of by the Exports Administrative Board.

The Trading With the Enemy Act

The Trading with the Enemy act makes it unlawful, under severe penalties, to trade without a license with any person who there is probable cause to believe is an enemy or ally of an enemy. The act provides that "trade" shall be deemed to mean:

- (a) To pay, satisfy, compromise, or give security for the payment or satisfaction of any debt or obligation.
- (b) To draw, accept, pay, present for acceptance or payment, or indorse any negotiable instrument or chose in action.
- (c) To enter into, carry on, complete, or perform any contract, agreement, or obligation.
- (d) To buy or sell, loan or extend credit, trade in, deal with, exchange, transmit, transfer, assign, or otherwise dispose of or receive any form of property.
- (e) To have any form of business or commercial communication or intercourse with.

Enemies Defined

Any person, no matter of what nationality, who resides within the territory of the German Empire or the territory of any of its allies or that occupied by their military forces is expressly made an "enemy" or "ally of enemy" by the act. Even citizens of the United States who have elected to remain within such

territory are "enemies" or "allies of an enemy" within the provisions of the act. Further, any person not residing in the United States, of whatever nationality and wherever he resides, who is doing business within such territory is placed within the definition of "enemy" or "ally of enemy." So also is any corporation created by Germany or its allies. So also is any corporation created by any other nation than the United States and doing business within such territory. Further, for the purpose of this act, the Government of any nation with which the United States is at war or the ally of such nation is an "enemy" or "ally of enemy," and the act makes no restriction as to where the officer, official, agent, or agency may be located.

It is equally unlawful to trade with any person who is acting for an enemy, and it makes no difference what the nationality or what the residence of such person may be. On the other hand, in dealing with subjects of Germany who are resident in the United States, the mere fact of their nationality does not make them "enemies" within the meaning of this act.

The Trading with the Enemy act,

however, gives power to the President to grant licenses to trade with the enemy. The exercise of this power has been delegated by the President to the War Trade Board.

Enemies in Domestic Trade

The Trading with the Enemy act provides that a person who is "an enemy" or "ally of enemy," doing business with in the United States, may apply for a license to continue to do business in the United States. The main application of these provisions will be to German or ally of German concerns which are doing business in the United States through branch houses or agents. Insurance companies were previously dealt with in the President's proclamation of July 13, 1917. It is not necessary, however, for a German subject or the subject of an ally of Germany who is resident in this country to apply for a license unless for some other reason he falls within the definition of "enemy" or "ally of enemy." No change of name by an enemy is permitted except by license.

The Trading with the Enemy act prohibits and imposes severe penalties on communicating with the enemy, but licenses may be granted for relief from the various communications.

The act contains various provisions as to the application for patents by citizens of the United States in enemy countries during the war, and for the use in the United States by citizens of the United States of enemy-held patents during the war, and also for the suspension of information as to certain patent applications made in the United States, secrecy as to which is necessary for military reasons. The Federal Trade Commission deals with all these matters.

Seizing Enemy Property

Among the most important and far-reaching of the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act are those dealing with the taking over by the United States Government of the custody and control of "enemy" property within the United States.

Any person in the United States holding any property for an "enemy" must report the fact to the Alien Property Custodian. The Alien Property Custodian

may require a transfer to himself of any property held for or on behalf of an "enemy" or the payment of any money owed to an "enemy" by a person in the United States. Any person in the United States so holding any property or so owning any money may transfer such property or pay such money to the Alien Property Custodian with his consent.

Control Over Foreign Exchange

The President by his Executive order committed to the Secretary of the Treasury the executive administration of the broad powers conferred by the act as to the prohibition and regulation of transfer between the United States and foreign countries of coin, currency, bullion, credits, and securities. The Secretary of the Treasury, with the assistance of the Federal Reserve Banks, passes on applications for leave to export bullion, coin, and currency.

The President created a Censorship Board to administer regulations as to the censorship of cable, telegraph, and mail communications between the United States and foreign countries. This board is composed of representatives of the Postmaster General, of the Secretary of War, of the Secretary of the Navy, of the War Trade Board, and of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

The Trading with the Enemy act provides that every paper printed in a foreign language shall furnish translations to the Postmaster General of the matter concerning the war printed by it, unless a permit to omit doing so is granted to it.

The act provides that it shall be unlawful for any person without a license to transport or attempt to transport into or from the United States, or for any American vessel to transport in any part of the world any citizen of an enemy or ally of an enemy nation. The administration of this provision is vested in the State Department.

Collectors of Customs are given the right to refuse clearance to vessels which are transporting cargo in violation of the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act. Power to review such refusal of clearance by the Collector is vested in the Secretary of Commerce.

The Press Under Post Office Censorship

Although Congress emphatically refused to permit the establishment of a press censorship when the Espionage bill was under discussion, far-reaching powers have been conferred upon the Postmaster General by a clause in the Trading with the Enemy act. The section in question reads:

Any print, newspaper, or publication in any foreign language which does not conform to the provisions of this section is hereby declared to be non-mailable, and it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, or association to transport, carry, or otherwise publish or distribute the same, or to transport, carry, or otherwise publish or distribute any matter which is made non-mailable by the provisions of the act relating to espionage, approved June 15, 1917.

Section 3 of the Espionage act, referred to in this clause as defining non-mailable matter, reads:

Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements, with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies; and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both.

The chief opponent of press control by the Postmaster General was Senator Norris of Nebraska, who pointed out that the new provision took away from a publisher his right to fight an order in the courts until after it was useless to fight; that it vested in the Postmaster General—an administrative officer of the Government—the power to adjudge a publisher guilty in advance of trial by any judicial tribunal, and to destroy his business through a mere edict. The Postmaster General had already put out of business thirty-eight or forty publications, under the provisions of the Espionage act, and not one of these publishers had been arrested for violation of

that act. Yet, Senator Norris contend-ed, if the Postmaster General was within his right every one of these men was guilty of a crime, and should be punished by imprisonment.

Statement by Mr. Burleson

Publications need not fear suppression under the new censorship provision, Postmaster General Burleson explained in an interview on Oct. 9, unless they transgress the bounds of legitimate criticism of the President, the Adminis-tration, the army, the navy, or the conduct of the war. Mr. Burleson con-tinued:

We shall take great care not to let criticism which is personally or politically offensive to the Administration affect our action. But if newspapers go so far as to impugn the motives of the Government, and thus encourage insubordination, they will be dealt with severely.

For instance, papers may not say that the Government is controlled by Wall Street or munition manufacturers, or any other special interests. Publication of any news calculated to urge the people to violate law would be considered grounds for drastic action. We will not tolerate campaigns against conscription, enlistments, sale of securities, or revenue collections. We will not permit the publication or circulation of anything hampering the war's prosecution or attacking im-propriely our allies.

Mr. Burleson explained that the policy of the foreign-language newspapers would be judged by their past utterances and not by newly announced intentions. "We have files of these papers, and whether we license them or not depends on our inspection of the files," he said. German-language newspapers not li-censed would be required to publish Eng-lish translations. No Socialist paper would be barred from the mails, Mr. Burleson said, unless it contained treasonable or seditious matter. "The trou-ble," he added, "is that most Socialist papers do contain this matter."

That Socialist newspapers did oppose the war was admitted by Morris Hillquit, when he appeared at the hearing at the Post Office Department in Washington on Oct. 15 on behalf of The New York Call, which had been summoned to show

cause why it should not be deprived of its mail privileges.

President Wilson's Attitude

President Wilson's views are indicated in a letter to Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*, a Socialist magazine which has been declared non-mailable. The President wrote:

I think that a time of war must be regarded as wholly exceptional, and that it is legitimate to regard things which would in ordinary circumstances be innocent as very dangerous to the public welfare, but

the line is manifestly exceedingly hard to draw, and I cannot say that I have any confidence that I know how to draw it.

I can only say that a line must be drawn, and that we are trying, it may be clumsily, but genuinely, to draw it without fear or favor or prejudice.

Many Socialist and pacifist publications have already been barred from the mails and some have in consequence ceased to exist, the most important of such defunct papers being *The American Socialist*, published from the headquarters of the Socialist Party.

Food Administration at Work

The establishment of a new Government department to regulate and control food supplies during the war was recorded in the September number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, (pp. 389-392.) Since then the Food Administration, under Herbert C. Hoover, has taken important steps in the direction of regulating prices and placing distribution upon a more economical basis.

The basic price of the 1917 wheat crop was fixed by President Wilson on Aug. 30 at \$2.20 a bushel, as recommended by the Price Fixing Commission, headed by Dr. H. A. Garfield. The price was based on Chicago delivery and was the figure at which the Food Administration decided to buy supplies of what is known as No. 1 Northern Spring wheat for the United States and its allies. It was estimated that under the schedule of prices flour could be produced at about \$9 a barrel and that there ought accordingly to be a slight decrease in the price of bread. The \$2.20 basis was 20 cents higher than that named for the 1918 crop in the Food Control act. In concluding his statement, President Wilson said:

Mr. Hoover, at his express wish, has taken no part in the deliberations of the committee on whose recommendation I determine the Government's fair price, nor has he in any way intimated an opinion regarding that price.

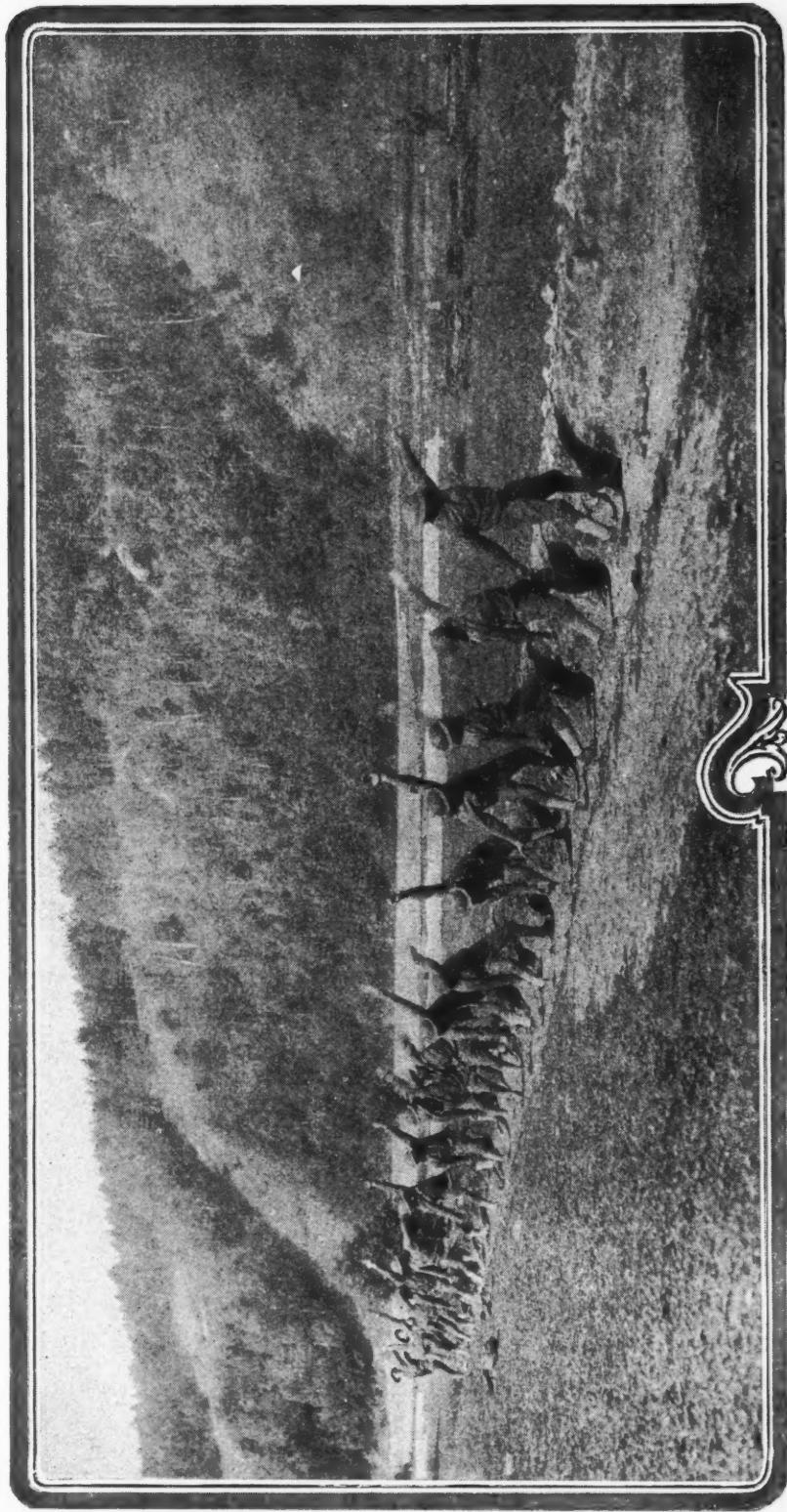
Government Buying Wheat

The Government, through the \$50,000,-000 United States Grain Corporation of the Food Administration, made its first appearance in the wheat market on

Sept. 5, and the principle of Government control had its first application in regard to foodstuffs. Government agents at the central zone offices throughout the country went into the market at the opening of the business day and took possession of the wheat in elevators and terminals, buying at the basic price of \$2.20 a bushel. From that day onward every bushel of wheat in the country has passed and continues to pass through the Grain Corporation from the elevators and terminals to the mills. The Government is buying only on warehouse receipts, and no contracts are made for future delivery. The men who went into the market for the first time on Sept. 5 found everything ready for their coming, and, it is said, there was no friction nor the slipping of a single cog when the machinery of the Federal control started. The wheat was sold at an advance of 1 per cent., to cover the cost of handling. Not a single fraction of a cent goes into the profit side of the books of the Food Administration. The control of the Food Administration over prices begins in the elevators and ends with the sale of flour at a 25-cent-a-barrel profit by the millers. The food law allows millers to keep only a thirty-day stock on hand, a measure to prevent hoarding.

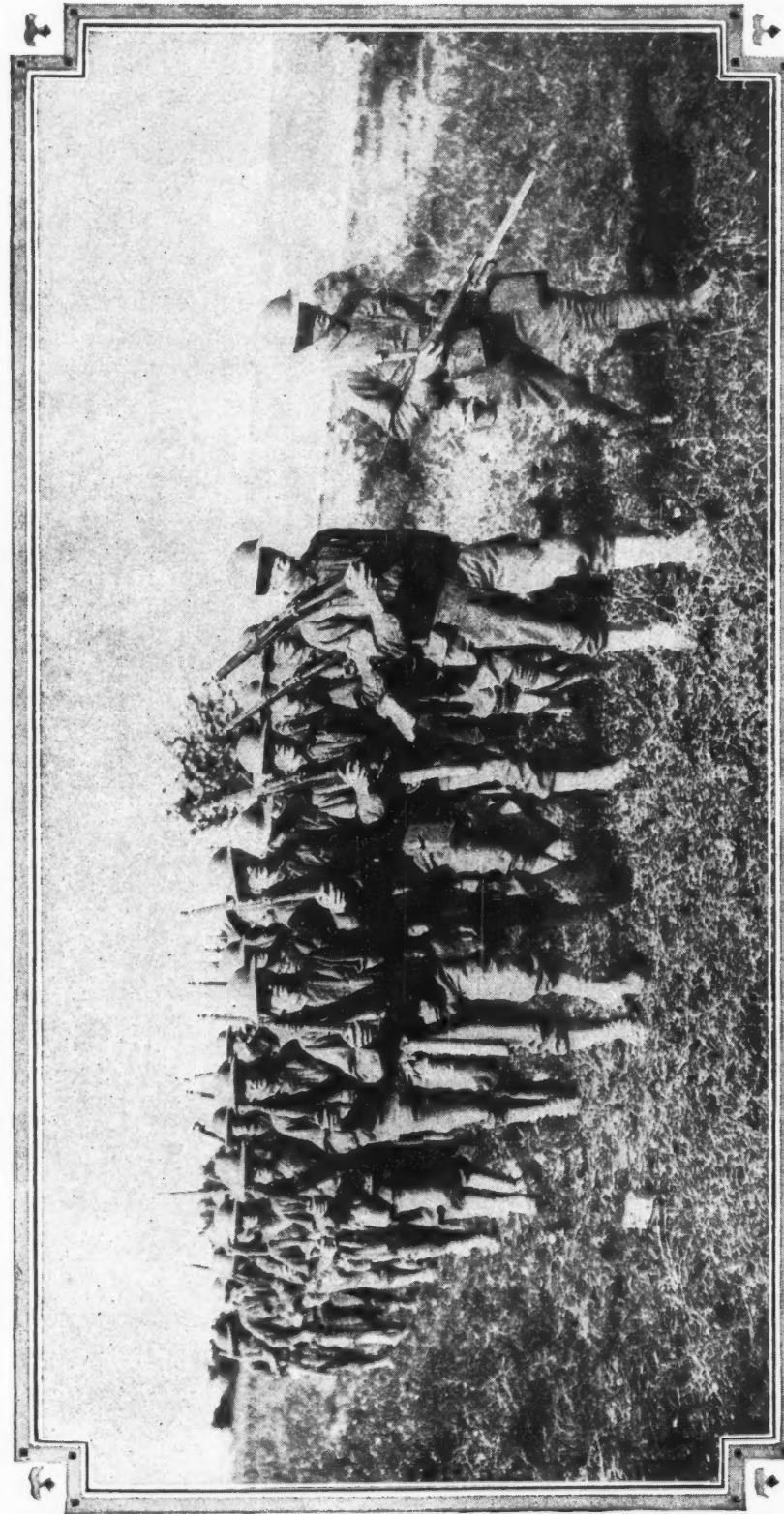
To save the millions of bushels of grain used annually in the manufacture of whisky, the provision of the Food Control act which prohibits the making or importation of distilled liquors was made effective on Sept. 8. Of the 100,-000,000 bushels of grain which formerly

AMERICAN TROOPS IN TRAINING "SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE"



(© International Film Service)
Men of the American Expeditionary Force Learning the Art of Throwing Hand Grenades, at Their Training Camp in France

UNITED STATES SOLDIERS WEARING STEEL HELMETS



(© International Film Service)
The Fact That the Men of the American Army in France Are Beginning to Wear Steel Helmets Is Another Evidence of Their Becoming Part of the Fighting Forces of the Grand Alliance

went to the distilleries each year, it is calculated that about 40,000,000 were used to make whisky and other distilled liquors. A large number of small distilleries were forced to close down as the result of the prohibition, but others producing alcohol for commercial and medicinal uses continued in operation. The whisky drinker is not likely to be deprived of his drink for some time yet, however, because it is estimated that about 230,000,000 gallons had accumulated in the bonded warehouses, liquor stores, and saloons. This is enough to provide for two years' average consumption.

Reducing Sugar Consumption

The sugar industry was taken over by the Government on Sept. 15, when the President issued a proclamation placing all branches of the business under a strict licensing system as from Oct. 1. This action was taken to enforce agreements entered into by the Food Administrator and the beet and cane sugar men. Mr. Hoover fixed the price at \$7.25 a hundredweight for beet sugar at refining centres. A saving of many millions of dollars to the country's consumers is anticipated as a result of the new system.

The necessity of economy in the use of sugar was urged by Mr. Hoover in a statement issued on Sept. 23 apropos of a request from the French Government for supplies. The statement read:

We have received a request from the French Government that we allow them to export from the United States 100,000 tons of sugar during the next month, and probably more at a later period. Our own situation is that we have just sufficient

sugar to maintain our normal consumption until the first of January, when the new West Indian crop becomes available to all.

Our consumption is at the rate of ninety pounds per person per year—a little under four ounces per day per person. The French people are on a ration of sugar equal to only twenty-one pounds per annum per person—or at the rate of less than one ounce per day per person—a little more than the weight of a silver dollar each day. The English and Italian rations are also not over one ounce per day.

The French people will be entirely without sugar for over two months if we refuse to part with enough from our stocks to keep them supplied with even this small allowance, as it is not available from any other quarter.

Sugar even to a greater amount than the French ration is a human necessity. If our people will reduce by one-third their purchases and consumption of candy and of sugar for other uses than preserving fruit, which we do not wish to interfere with, we can save the French situation.

Controlling All Foodstuffs

The most sweeping measure of food regulation was that enacted by President Wilson on Oct. 10 when he issued a proclamation setting forth the terms under which the Food Administration, after Nov. 1, would control the manufacture, storage, importation, and distribution of practically all of the essential foodstuffs. The proclamation provided that a license, issued under rules and regulations governing the conduct of the business of the licensee, must be secured on or before Nov. 1 by individuals and corporations with certain exceptions. The proclamation concluded with a warning that any violation of the regulations would be subjected to the penalties provided for in the Food Control act.

America's Military Progress During the Month

THE new armies of the United States are not being subjected to rush and hustle, but are growing into effective fighting forces in a thoroughly purposeful manner, so that when they make their appearance on the firing line they will be capable of a maximum of effort. The regular army on Oct. 12, 1917, had to its credit 226,918 new enlist-

ments, that is, over 43,000 more than the number originally required to bring it up to war strength. On the other hand, as certain National Guard divisions had not reached full strength, their ranks had to be filled up from the men drafted into the National Army. Orders were accordingly issued by the War Department on Oct. 13 for the transfer of about 75,400

drafted men to bring six National Guard divisions up to war strength. The orders also involved the transfer of about 55,000 drafted men from Eastern and Middle Western cantonments to Camps Gordon and Pike. Altogether about 130,400 men were redistributed and regrouped to fill up tactical units. About 250,000 men of the draft army had not yet been mobilized because the cantonments were not ready in every particular.

The training work mapped out by the War Department for National Guard and National Army divisions before they are regarded as ready for duty abroad is based on a sixteen weeks' course of the most intensive kind of work in the open, varied with lectures by American and allied officers who are experts in modern warfare. Great stress is laid upon the necessity for night training. Trench raiding, scouting, trench building, and operations of all kinds which may be called for in actual combat are duplicated at the camps through the night hours. Target practice runs through the entire course, and the schedules call for forty hours' training each week. A striking feature of the program is the fact that practically the entire period of sixteen weeks is devoted to training individuals, platoons, and companies. Brigade, divisional, and even regimental exercises are reserved for a later period with some minor exceptions during the last weeks.

Details of the Government system of insuring members of the nation's fighting forces were made public on Oct. 14 by the War Risk Insurance Bureau of the Treasury Department. The insurance law is applicable to the entire military and naval establishment of the United States, including army, navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Naval Reserves, nurses, and all others serving with the army and navy. Provision is made for family allowances, for re-education of wounded and cripples, and for compensation in case of death or injury.

The specimen contract made public by the Secretary of the Treasury is based on age 25 and is for \$5,000. The premium is \$3.30 a month. The insurance is payable in installments of \$28.75 per month in case of death or total disability.

The table given for a \$5,000 policy begins with a monthly premium of \$3.15 at the ages of 15, 16, and 17 years, increases to \$3.20 a month for the ages of 18, 19, and 20; to \$3.25 a month for the ages of 21, 22, and 23; with progressive increases for ages above those given. The minimum amount of insurance is \$1,000, the maximum \$10,000. The monthly premium for a \$10,000 policy at age 25 is only \$6.60.

President Wilson on Oct. 8 signed commissions as Generals for Major Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, who has succeeded Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott as army Chief of Staff, and for Major Gen. John J. Pershing, commanding the American forces in France. Though both officers have equal rank, General Bliss takes precedence by virtue of his position as the directing head of the entire army organization. The new grade carries a salary of \$10,000 a year, an increase of \$2,000 over the pay of Major General. Only four other officers of the United States Army have held the rank and title of General. They were Washington, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. The grade of Lieutenant General also was revived by Congress, the rank to be given commanders of army corps. Besides the new commissions for Generals Bliss and Pershing, the President signed commissions of army bureau chiefs to be Major Generals and commissions of many new Brigadier Generals whose nominations were confirmed by the Senate in the closing hours of the special session of Congress.

More than 100,000 American officers and soldiers are now in France under General Pershing's command. Training is proceeding to the utmost satisfaction of the military authorities.

Increased Activity of the Navy

Reports from Admiral Sims, the American naval commander in Europe, show that every type of naval craft from small launches to powerful warships is now included in his force. The most recent additions were Coast Guard cutters and fishing vessels for mine-sweeping work. American naval vessels, including destroyers, are doing convoy work in the Mediterranean as well as in and near British and French waters.

Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, on

Oct. 9 awarded contracts to five ship-building companies for the construction of \$350,000,000 worth of destroyers. This is the biggest contract for vessels of this type ever awarded by any Government. With the award of these contracts the

war construction program of the American Navy was brought to a total of 787 vessels, including all types, from super-dreadnoughts to submarine chasers. The total cost of the program is estimated at \$1,150,400,000.

Worldwide Embargo Against Germany

Neighboring Neutrals Affected

THE first step toward an embargo was the issue of the President's proclamation on July 9 prohibiting exports of coal, food, grains, meats, steel, and other products except by license. In an explanatory statement the President said that his purpose was "the amelioration of food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested." But in his next proclamation, dated Aug. 27, the President had a further object in view, namely, to prevent neutral nations from re-exporting foods into Germany from the United States. Those neutrals were no longer to get supplies which "either directly or indirectly" might be made the "occasion of benefit to the enemy." Sweeping in its terms, the proclamation placed under control of the Export Council all articles of commerce, so far as the neutrals of Europe were concerned. The President, in a supplemental statement, pointed out that it was obviously necessary to exercise a closer supervision of trade with these Governments than with others. Coin, bullion, currency, and evidences of debt were included in the restricted list affecting the European neutrals and enemy countries. This was to prevent money going to neutrals upon whom Germany, offering coal and other essential supplies in return, made demands for gold.

Enemy countries and European neutrals adjacent to Germany and its allies were treated in a separate section of the proclamation. Another section directed that certain commodities be added to the list of articles already under export con-

trol to all countries of the world, including the allies of America. The most notable of these were cotton, sugar, and lumber.

Strict Rationing of Neutrals

The fact that the President treated the position of the European neutrals, such as the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland, in a separate section, and cut off from them, except under special license, practically every commodity from the United States, was regarded here as the initiation of a policy of strict rationing on a basis that would leave for Germany no hope of help from those quarters.

An embargo on the exportation of coin, bullion, and currency, except by license of the Secretary of the Treasury, by advice of the Federal Reserve Board, was proclaimed by President Wilson on Sept. 7. This step was made necessary by heavy withdrawals of gold by Japan, Mexico, and Spain. For some time previously Treasury and Reserve Board officials had been viewing with concern the tendency of gold to flow away from the United States, a movement which started with the financing of the Allies. Within the five weeks' period ended Aug. 17 exports totaled \$73,000,000, or more than four times the total of imports. The movement had been too recent, however, to affect substantially the great volume of gold in this country. The stock was then \$3,000,000,000, of which approximately 40 per cent. had been imported since January, 1915. Imports of gold during the current year were more than

\$538,000,000. Exports were estimated to have approximated \$300,000,000, or more than twice as much as the volume exported altogether in 1916. Much of this gold went to Japan, which had a balance of trade against the United States, and recently exportations to Spain had assumed large proportions.

Arrangement with Canada

The Exports Administrative Board, co-operating with the Canadian Food Controller, announced on Sept. 14 that at the request of the United States Food Administrator all exports of wheat, wheat flour, butter, and sugar to Canada and Newfoundland would require an individual license for each shipment. The purpose of the order, it was explained, was to provide means of closer co-operation between the American and Canadian Food Administrators and to put the United States in position to conserve its supplies if shortages appear likely. Shipments of food in small quantities, however, were permitted to both Canada and Mexico. Dr. H. A. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, requested the Exports Administrative Board to permit no more coal to be shipped from the country except under license restrictions, and asked that no licenses be granted unless they were approved by the Fuel Administration.

Tightening the Food Embargo

To tighten up restrictions previously made the Exports Administrative Board published on Sept. 16 a conservation list which included wheat, wheat flour, sugar, steel, iron, and many materials needed for the manufacture of explosives, announcing at the same time that the export of these commodities would be "practically prohibited" for the present. The ruling was accepted generally as definite notice to most of the northern neutrals of Europe that for some time to come they would have to get along without American wheat, and that at no time during the war period would shipments be made to them except on the strictest rationing basis, and only after obtaining satisfactory guarantees.

A modification of previous orders was made by the board on Oct. 2, when it issued a long list of American commod-

ties which it was decided might be exported to other nations, with the exception of Germany, her allies, and the neutral countries contiguous to Germany, without obtaining a license. There were about 600 articles in the list. The decision did not affect wheat and other vital cereals, the more important shipbuilding steel, meats, sugar, raw cotton, concentrated fodder, coal, fuel oils, and other products looked upon as essential to this nation's welfare. Neither did it disturb the complete embargo declared against Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the nations accused of helping to feed Germany.

The London Gazette of Oct. 2 printed a proclamation by the British Government prohibiting the exportation to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands of all articles, except printed matter of all descriptions and personal effects accompanied by their owners. The action in this worldwide embargo was taken at the instance of the United States, which insisted that Great Britain so modify its regulations as to prevent nullification of the American embargo.

Ban on Bunker Coal

A final step to prevent Germany, or northern neutrals of Europe, from obtaining products of the United States, Canada, Mexico, or any of the South American nations that might aid the enemy, was taken on Oct. 4 by the Exports Administrative Board, by placing a ban upon bunker coal. In an official statement it was asserted that the United States had failed to obtain the definite information it had asked of northern neutrals concerning their actual needs for home consumption, and the status of the traffic in which they had engaged with the Central Powers. It was stated further that the Administration had adopted as definite the policy that it would in no way contribute to trade with these neutrals which "will undoubtedly accrue to the benefit of the enemy."

The ban on bunker coal was adopted with the approval of all the Allies. It followed closely Great Britain's declaration of a complete embargo against the Northern European neutrals, which was

designed to strengthen the embargo already put into force by the United States. Latin-American countries were now the only nations left in the world in which Germany had a chance to obtain foodstuffs and other necessities through the border countries. With this source cut off, allied statesmen felt that the ring around Germany was drawn so tightly that the economic pressure, reinforcing the Allies' ever-growing military superiority, would make the German people see their cause is hopeless.

Plight of European Neutrals

The American embargo was viewed with considerable alarm and no little resentment by the neutral nations of Northern Europe. The prohibition of exports and the withholding of bunker coal licenses resulted in the complete paralysis of Dutch and Scandinavian shipping in the transatlantic trade. Passenger and freight vessels to the number of 136, representing 750,000 gross tons and worth \$150,000,000, were detained for many weeks in Atlantic ports, most of them in New York Harbor. Included in the total were fifty Dutch freighters, which were loaded with wheat in August, fifty-three Norwegian freighters, besides Danish and Swedish vessels. Some of them were tied up as early as July. As has already been mentioned, the reason for holding up these vessels arose from the determination of the United States Government to prevent supplies reaching Germany through contiguous neutral countries. According to a statement, dated Aug. 20, by the Intelligence Bureau of Diplomatic Information of one of the allied Governments, the excess in 1916 of Dutch food imports over home consumption was sufficient to provision 1,200,000 soldiers for one year.

An agreement entered into between Holland and Germany, fixing the percentage of exports from the Netherlands to the Central Powers, was, according to an announcement on Sept. 29, refused recognition by the United States, and a translation of documents bearing upon the agreement, which had come into the possession of the Government, was made public. The negotiations, which took

place in September, 1916, showed that Germany demanded:

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of butter.

At least 66 2-3 per cent. of the total exports of export cheese.

At least as much pig meat and sausage as was exported to other countries, including exports for the relief of sufferers in Belgium.

At least the same amount of live cattle or meats as was exported to other countries.

At least 75 per cent. of the total export of vegetables.

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of fruit and marmalade.

At least 75 per cent. of the total exports of fresh and preserved chickens' and ducks' eggs.

At least half the total exports of flax.

To enforce these demands Germany threatened to cut off exports of coal into Holland, thereby causing the closing down of factories and the absence of heat in the houses of many of the people. Holland was thus still in the crossfire of embargoes on essentials coming from both belligerent groups. A further step toward bringing pressure to bear upon Holland was the refusal of the United States Government to permit Dutch ships to leave America unless they guaranteed to return to the jurisdiction of the United States. The Nederland Steamship Company, on Oct. 9, announced that it had acquiesced in the American conditions for granting bunkering facilities, which provide that the company's vessels for every voyage between Java and the United States should make a return voyage with cargoes exclusively American or partly Canadian.

The most drastic action by the United States was foreshadowed at this time by the statement in New York shipping circles that if America's allies were badly in need of supplies through lack of tonnage the United States Government probably would sequester Dutch steamships in American ports for the period of the war and afterward pay for them whatever sum a court awarded. The Dutch steamship companies in Holland did not wish to charter the vessels to the United States Government because they said the tonnage was needed to take foodstuffs to Holland. At this writing (Oct. 18) the fate of these ships has not been decided.

Financing America's War Needs

Appropriations of Sixteen Billions

RECORD-BREAKING appropriations were made during the special session of Congress to finance the nation's war program. Beginning with a general deficiency appropriation bill for \$163,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 was to be spent on national security and defense, Congress gradually piled up liabilities for over eleven billion dollars. Actually, the amount of the appropriations, made for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, was \$16,901,966,814, but of this sum \$7,000,000,000 represents loans to the Allies, which are repayable. The following table shows how appropriations are distributed:

Expenses incident to the Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	\$68,020.00
Loans to the Allies under act of April 24, 1917.....	3,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds and certificates of indebtedness under act of April 24, 1917.....	7,063,945.46
Bureau of War Risk Insurance, cost of insuring vessels and their cargoes, &c.	45,150,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the military and naval establishments	3,281,094,541.60
Increase of signal corps of the army, including purchase, operation, &c., of airships	640,000,000.00
Expenses under act to encourage production, conserve the supply, and control distribution of food products and fuel.....	162,500,000.00
Expenses under the act to stimulate agriculture and facilitate the distribution of agricultural products.....	11,346,400.00
Additional loans to the Allies under act of Sept. 24, 1917.	4,000,000,000.00
Expenses of preparation and issue of bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and war-saving certificates.....	21,377,890.92
Expenses under the act establishing a military and naval family allowance, compensation, and insurance fund for the benefit of soldiers and sailors and their families.....	176,250,000.00

Expenses under the act to define, regulate, and punish trading with the enemy.	450,000.00
Urgent deficiency act for the fiscal year 1918 and prior years, on account of war expenses.....	5,356,666,016.93
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated).....	200,000,000.00

Total appropriations, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	\$16,901,966,814.91
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To this total must be added the appropriation made during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, amounting to \$1,977,210,200, and the following contract authorizations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918:

Fortification	\$5,250,000.00
Naval	86,145,532.00
Sundry civil	900,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of June 24, 1917....	16,550,000.00
Urgent deficiency appropriation act of October, 1917....	2,401,458,393.50
Act to authorize the construction of a building for the use of the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00

Total contract author'z'ns \$2,511,553,925.50

We thus get the following aggregates:	
Appropriations, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session....	\$1,977,210,200.05
Appropriations, Sixty - fifth Congress, first session.....	16,901,966,814.91
Contract authorizations, fiscal year 1918	2,511,553,925.50

Grand total

By deducting the \$7,000,000,000 lent to the Allies, we find that the cost of the war and the ordinary expenses of the Government for the year amount to \$14,390,730,940.

These expenditures are being met from three sources: (1) Revenues under existing laws and Post Office receipts, (2) new taxation, (3) and loans. Under the first two heads the total revenue is estimated at \$4,193,370,000, of which \$2,500,000,000 will come from the war taxation measures passed during the special session. An act of Congress

of Sept. 24, 1917, authorizes an additional issue of bonds of \$3,538,945,460, thus leaving \$3,906,861,554 which is covered neither by taxation nor by loans, and which will have to be provided for during the next session of Congress.

Senator Smoot in an analysis of the Government's finances shows that the United States is raising 36 per cent. of its expenditure by direct taxation, while the percentage raised by direct taxation in other countries after three years are the following: Great Britain, 26; France, 14½; Germany, nearly 15, and Canada, 8.

Drastic Income Taxation

The War Revenue bill was the last important measure disposed of by Congress before the conclusion of the special session. It had been under discussion nearly four months and imposes taxation on a drastic and comprehensive scale. An additional tax and a surtax are levied on the incomes of all married men over \$2,000 a year and on those of unmarried men over \$1,000 a year. Grouping together the old tax, the new tax, and the surtax, the levy on a number of typical incomes of married men will work out, as follows:

\$3,000.....	\$20	\$15,000.....	\$730
4,000.....	40	20,000.....	1,180
5,000.....	80	25,000.....	1,780
6,000.....	130	50,000.....	5,180
7,000.....	180	100,000.....	16,280
8,000.....	235	500,000.....	192,680
9,000.....	295	1,000,000.....	475,180
10,000.....	355		

The most striking feature of the new taxation is the levy on profits. A graduated tax of from 20 to 60 per cent. on excess profits of corporations, partnerships, and individuals will be levied on a basis of invested capital, as compared with invested capital of the three years 1911-1913. The graduated excess profit rates are 20 per cent. of excess profits not in excess of 15 per cent. of the invested capital for the taxable year; 25 per cent. on profits in excess of 15 per cent. and not over 20 per cent. of such capital; 35 per cent. on excess over 20 and under 25 per cent. of capital; 45 per cent. on over 25 per cent. and under 33 per cent. of capital, and a maximum of

60 per cent. on profits in excess of 33 per cent. of such capital.

The War Revenue act also contains new imposts on tobacco, liquor, insurance, transportation, amusements, (theatre tickets, &c.,) and club dues, cosmetics, perfumes, and proprietary medicines, and increases postal rates. Letters, except drop letters, will require three cents postage; while increases are made on second-class mail matter, the latter not to go into effect until July, 1918, and thereafter in an annual progressive scale.

Second Liberty Loan

Secretary McAdoo announced on Sept. 27 the terms and details of the second issue of Liberty Loan bonds. The announcement read in part:

With the approval of the President, I have determined to offer on Oct. 1, 1917, three billion or more dollars of United States of America 4 per cent. convertible gold bonds, due on Nov. 15, 1942, and subject to redemption at the option of the United States at par and accrued interest on and after Nov. 15, 1927. The bonds will bear interest from Nov. 15, 1917.

The exact amount of bonds to be issued under this offering will depend on the amount of subscriptions received. It is, of course, to be expected that subscriptions considerably in excess of \$3,000,000,000 will be received, and in that event the right is reserved to allot bonds in excess of \$3,000,000,000 to the extent of not over one-half of the sum by which the subscriptions received exceed \$3,000,000,000. In other words, if subscriptions to the extent of \$5,000,000,000 are filed \$4,000,000,000 of bonds may be allotted.

The bonds will be offered as before at par and accrued interest and will be in denominations of \$50 and multiples thereof.

The bonds shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, any State, or any of the possessions of the United States, or by any local taxing authority, except (a) estate or inheritance taxes, and (b) graduated additional income taxes, commonly known as surtaxes, and excess profits and war profits taxes, now or hereafter imposed by the United States, upon the income or profits of individuals, partnerships, associations, or corporations. The interest on an amount of bonds and certificates authorized by said act, the principal of which does not exceed in the aggregate \$5,000, owned by any individual, partnership, association, or corporation, shall be exempt from the taxes provided for in clause (b) above.

If a new issue at a higher rate of interest is offered, holders of these bonds will have the right to convert.

A Financier's War Service

Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York, the largest national bank in the United States, entered the service of the Government on Sept. 25 for the purpose of floating the \$2,000,000,000 certificates of indebtedness authorized by Congress on April 24 in addition to the \$5,000,000,000 of war bonds then authorized to provide \$3,000,000,000 to be loaned to the Allies and \$2,000,000,000 to be employed in our own projects of military preparedness. Mr. Vanderlip's salary is one dollar a year. He is spending four days a week at Washington, and while absent from New York is keeping in touch with his office in the National City Bank continually by telephone. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Secretary Gage, Mr. Vanderlip had direct charge of placing on the market the

bonds required to build up the United States Army and Navy, especially for the Spanish war. For several months Russell C. Leffinwell, a banking lawyer of New York and one of Mr. Vanderlip's aids in the conduct of the National City Bank, has had an office in the Treasury Department Building, where he has been a constant adviser of Secretary McAdoo in shaping the terms and conditions of the first two issues of war bonds. Mr. Leffinwell remains on duty in the Treasury Department, and is co-operating with Mr. Vanderlip in the work of selling not only the certificates of indebtedness, but the bonds of the Second Liberty Loan. In answering Secretary McAdoo's request for his aid Mr. Vanderlip surrendered for the period of the war not only active direction of his office as President of the National City Bank, but his active connections with the American International Corporation and the International Mercantile Marine Company, in both of which he was an influential factor.

Latin America and the War

Many Republics, Following the Lead of the United States, Have Broken With Germany

COSTA RICA formally severed diplomatic relations with Germany Sept. 21, 1917. Passports were handed to the diplomatic and Consular representatives of Germany at San José, and the Costa Rican delegation and Consuls of Germany were recalled. President Tinico is reported to have discovered that German residents had joined with the former President, Gonzales, in conspiring against the Government. German residents at Costa Rican ports were interned.

On Oct. 6 the Peruvian Government handed his passports to Dr. Perl, the German Minister, the Peruvian Congress by a vote of 105 to 6 having passed a resolution presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs providing for a rupture of diplomatic relations. Prior to this

action efforts were made to blow up the interned German steamships in the harbor of Callao, the seaport of Lima; it was believed that the Germans attempted to wreck the vessels to prevent their falling into the hands of the Allies. On Oct. 10 the British and United States Governments were notified by the Peruvian Foreign Office that the use of Peruvian ports was extended to their war vessels. This action opened to the Allies practically the entire coast of South America without the usual restrictions of neutrality—except the ports of Argentina and Colombia.

The Republic of Ecuador, on Oct. 8, took a step tantamount to a severance of relations with Germany by announcing that the German Minister, Dr. Perl, who had been handed his passports by Peru,

would not be officially received by the Ecuadorean Government in case he attempted to come to Quito.

Uruguay officially broke relations with Germany on Oct. 7 by decree of the President, and all functionaries of the republic were ordered to withdraw from German territory. The Chamber of Deputies voted in favor of the rupture by 74 to 23. The President of Uruguay previously—on June 20—had issued an order announcing that “no American country which, in defense of its own rights, should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents, will be treated as a belligerent.” President Viera, in his message to the Parliament, declared that the Uruguayan Government had not received any direct offense from Germany, but that it was necessary to espouse the cause of the defenders of justice, democracy, and small nationalities.

Uruguay, with other neutrals, has been a sufferer from Germany's U-boat warfare and other actions in disregard of international rights. In a note to the United States Government on April 14 the Montevideo Government said it did not recognize Germany's unrestricted warfare, and did recognize that the action of the United States in declaring war was a proper answer to Germany's actions.

Uruguay, on May 1, sent a note to London and Paris, asking for information as to the sinking of the *Gorizia*, a Uruguayan ship, and later made a protest to Germany. In May it joined in the suggestion for concentrated action by South American countries toward Germany. On Sept. 14 the Uruguayan Government, in a note to Argentina, approved the action of the Buenos Aires Government in handing his passports to Count von Luxburg.

The following German ships interned at Montevideo were seized by the Uruguayan Government:

Gross Vessel.	When Tonnage.	When Built.	Owners.
Bahia	4,817	1898	H. Süd-Amerika
Harzburg	4,677	1907	Hansa Line
Mera	4,797	1901	Kosmos Line
Polynesia	6,022	1904	Hamburg-Amerika
Salatis	4,764	1906	Kosmos Line
Silvia	6,580	1900	Hamburg-Amerika

Gross Vessel	Tonnage.	When Built.	Owners.
Thuringia	6,152	1904	Hamburg-Amerika
Wiegand	4,849	1911	Roland Line

Total ton'ge. 42,658

President Irigoyen of Argentina up to Oct. 18 had succeeded in maintaining his country's neutrality, notwithstanding the vote of both houses of Congress in favor of a rupture in relations. The Argentine Foreign Minister announced on Oct. 9 that relations with Germany would not be broken so long as Germany fulfills its latest pledge, made early in October, “to recognize the Argentine flag and respect the nation and people.” Feeling ran high throughout Argentina, and the country was almost in a state of civil war owing to bitter conflicts between the pro-war and neutrality factions. A nationwide strike on the railways was a serious cause of disturbance and produced a crisis which was not allayed until the demands of the strikers were practically granted.

The action of Uruguay and the hesitation of Argentina created some friction between the two republics, which was aggravated by the following statement, said to have been made by the Foreign Minister of Uruguay, in urging the Uruguayan Congress to break off relations with Germany:

Uruguay, as a small nation between two great ones, must seek a balance of force to resist the possible hegemony of Argentina, with which nation we still have questions which are not settled definitely. This balance consists in bringing closer together Brazil and the States of our connection with the great States of the present conflict so that it will make impossible an attack on Uruguayan sovereignty without an immediate reverberation throughout the American Continent.

The unsettled questions between Uruguay and Argentina concern the River Plate. Argentina asserts that the river belongs to her, while Uruguay insists that she owns half of it. The dispute involves the ownership of the important island of Martin Garcia, now held by Argentina.

South American nations that have broken relations with Germany are Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The Central American Gov-

ernments breaking with Germany are Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Honduras. Panama and Cuba declared war on Germany on April 7, the day following the American declaration. Haiti broke relations with Germany in June.

The Pan-American nations that have not yet severed diplomatic relations are Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Salvador, and Mexico. As stated above, however, Ecuador has practically ruptured relations.

Submarine Sinkings of the Month

DURING the month ended Oct. 14, 1917, there was apparently a diminution in the losses of ships sunk by German submarines and mines. The British Admiralty record shows the following:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish- ing Tons. Vessels.
Week ended Sept. 23.. 13		2	2
Week ended Sept. 30.. 11		2	..
Week ended Oct. 7.... 14		2	3
Week ended Oct 14.... 12		6	1
 Total for four weeks 50	 12	 6	
Total for previous four weeks	58	34	5

The record for the week ended Sept. 30 was the lowest since the U-boat war was proclaimed. During the week ended Oct. 7 British shipyards launched more tonnage than the Germans sank. French Admiralty figures showed that for the two weeks ended Sept. 30 the losses were: Over 1,600 tons, 12; under 1,600 tons, 10; fishing vessels, 6. During the week ended Oct. 14 Italy lost four steamers of over 1,600 tons each. During the month of September Norway lost nineteen merchant ships representing 30,800 tons. Twenty Norwegian sailors were killed and seventeen reported missing.

The most disastrous sinking was that of the French munitions steamer *Medie*, 4,470 tons, which was torpedoed in the Mediterranean on Sept. 23. The number of lives lost was 250 out of the 500 members of the crew and passengers, including sailors and prisoners of war. The explosion of the torpedo detonated the munitions in the ship's cargo. Five officers and fifty-one men were lost when the British armed mercantile cruiser *Champagne* was torpedoed and sunk.

Charles H. Grasty, in a cable

dispatch dated London, Oct. 6, to THE NEW YORK TIMES, said that it looked as if the September total of losses had dropped as low as 350,000 tons, or a weekly average of less than 90,000. The actual figures for the first two weeks included the allied and neutral as well as British losses. The average compares with a weekly average of nearly 130,000 tons for the eight months from January to August, inclusive, these also being the losses for the Allies and neutrals. Adding the September figures to those given in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE in October, Page 137, the total amount of shipping lost during the first nine months of 1917 amounts approximately to 4,911,000 tons.

The most hopeful sign of the slackening of the German submarine campaign was seen in the announcement on Oct. 6 of reduced premiums by the United States War Risk Insurance Bureau. The official statement said that the reduction of insurance rates from 6½ to 5 per cent. for American vessels and cargoes traversing the war zone was made "because of the decrease in the risks."

The British cruiser *Drake*, 14,100 tons, was, according to an Admiralty announcement, torpedoed and sunk off the north coast of Ireland on Oct. 2. One officer and eighteen men were killed by the explosion. The remainder of the ship's company was saved. The *Drake* was well known to vessels entering and leaving New York Harbor during the first eighteen months of the war, for she overhauled many and examined their papers. In January, 1916, she was refitted at the Bermuda naval dockyard and went in search of the German raider *Möwe*.

Germany's Waning Man Power

Some Significant Figures

A STUDY of the official vital statistics of England and Germany reveals the fact that the war has had a much more disastrous effect on the birth rate of Germany than on that of England. The comparison is between the German cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Leipsic, Munich, Dresden, Cologne, and Breslau, with a combined population of 6,000,000, and the English cities of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield, with a population of over 7,000,000. The effects of the war on the numbers of births may be seen in the following table, which relates to the first six months of each year specified:

	Births in the Above-Named German Towns.	Births in the Above-Named English Towns.
1913 (first half).....	65,000	96,939
1915	57,596	94,252
1916	39,552	88,186
1917	34,370	78,426

The direct effects of the war on births could not be felt until about April, 1915, and these figures do not reveal the actual loss of three years of war. But up to the end of last June these German towns had lost on the 1913 standard by the deficit in births a number practically equal to the whole of the births for that year, while the loss in the English towns was rather less than one-third of that amount.

If the loss in 6,000,000 population averages 60,000 a year, in the German Empire the loss in three years was nearly 2,000,000 potential lives. A German authority, Karl Doorman, gives the round figures of births in the German Empire for the years 1915 and 1916, and these show a loss on the 1913 scale of 1,165,000 up to the end of 1916. The percentage of decrease for the whole empire as shown by Doorman is on the 1913 scale 22.4 per cent. in 1915 and 40 per cent. in 1916. For the seven towns which have been chosen the decrease for the first half of 1916 is 39.2 per cent., a lower rate than that for the whole empire for that year and one that is sufficiently

near to the empire rate to warrant regarding it as substantially accurate as an index to the whole of the country. Applying the same method to the figures for the English towns, the potential loss in England and Wales for the same period is about 300,000.

It is stated further that the deaths in Germany independent of the losses in the field since the beginning of 1915 have exceeded the births by 600,000; hence the total population of the country, including the soldiers everywhere, is less today by 600,000 plus the deaths in the field, which are estimated at 2,000,000, making 2,600,000 total decrease. In England, on the contrary, the births yet exceed the deaths, estimated at an excess of 600,000 in the three years, which counterbalances the deaths in the field, so that England's total population as yet shows no actual loss.

The Chief of the German General Staff, General Ludendorff, issued an order early in September, 1917, in which he betrayed the necessity of economizing "human material." The order was as follows:

Chief of the German General Staff to the
Armies Afield:

The consumption of munitions has remained constantly very high recently on the fighting fronts, in spite of the fact that the combative activity has generally diminished. In particular, consumption of shells for mortar and heavy field howitzers is much greater than production. This is serious. However, the superior direction of the army cannot issue a new general order for a further restriction in the consumption of munitions, because our losses on all the fighting fronts continue to be very high, and would become even higher if further general instructions were made.

Economy in men is even more important than economy in munitions. It is necessary to try and obtain an improvement on these two points. To this end it is necessary to use as carefully as is possible the munitions according to the order previously given on repeated occasions, and, on the other hand, to regulate the tactics of our methods of fighting according to the

regulations given and the circumstances, so as to diminish our losses.

According to orders which we have seen and according to the complaints of the troops, it is no longer in doubt that we persist in our old ways of seeing things, and that we continue along these lines on certain occasions. These are in first-line positions—too severe fighting for the possession of ground, even a trench element which is of little tactical value, without importance and even disadvantageous to be defended; hasty counterattacks without information from the artillery; the too dense occupation of the first lines; the keeping too close of large reserves in the open when no attack is planned; too much artillery fire against positions where there is no enemy, such as destructive cannonading of empty trenches; useless barrage fire and cannonading, especially during the night, when there is not sufficient information for regulating the fire.

(Signed) LUDENDORFF.

It was announced on Oct. 16 that Germany had called to the colors all eligible men under 47 years of age and was keeping in the ranks men aged 49.

H. Warner Allen, the Government correspondent at the French front, made a study late in September of the German man power. He estimated the German mobilization as follows:

1914	
Trained men.....	4,500,000
Ersatz-Reserve	800,000
1914 contingent.....	450,000
1915	
Landsturm first ban.....	1,100,000
1915 contingent	450,000
Remainder first ban Landsturm	150,000
1916 contingent	450,000
Combed out from "unfit".....	300,000
1916	
Combed out from "unfit".....	200,000
Second ban Landsturm untr'd	450,000
1917 contingent	450,000
Combed out from "unfit".....	300,000
1918 contingent	450,000
1917	
Combed out	150,000
Part of 1919 contingent.....	300,000
Total	10,500,000

To this total of 10,500,000 must be added the remaining men of the 1919 contingent and the 1920 contingent, together estimated at 700,000 men, making in all 11,200,000. The remaining 2,800,000 men required to make up the total of 14,000,000, given as the grand total of German man power, are to be accounted for as follows:

Men of military age employed in indispensable occupations in Germany, originally 750,000, now, as result of combing out.	500,000
Men of military age abroad.....	200,000
Permanently unfit	2,100,000
Total	2,800,000

The German casualty lists up to July 31, 1917, give the following losses:

Killed	1,158,601
Wounded	2,922,320
Missing	710,454
Total	4,791,375

It is believed that these figures are considerably within the mark, and that the permanent losses in the German Army in the three years are rather in excess of than below 4,000,000. The Allies' conclusion as to the actual German man power at the middle of September, 1917, was as follows:

Men actually employed in the army on the front, behind the lines, and in the interior.....	5,500,000
Men incorporated and shortly available, forces left over from divisions in course of formation, and men in dépôts...	600,000
Remainder of 1919 contingent and 1920 contingent	700,000
Permanent losses	4,000,000
Men in treatment in hospital....	500,000
Germans abroad	200,000
Permanently unfit	2,100,000
Men required in interior for life of country	500,000
Total	14,100,000

Mutiny in the German Navy

IN a debate in the German Reichstag, Oct. 9, Vice Admiral von Capelle, the German Minister of Marine, revealed the fact that a mutiny had occurred in the German Navy some weeks before, but that it had been quickly

quelled and three of the leaders had been executed. He gave only meagre details, but made the direct accusation that the Independent Socialists were responsible for the uprising by influencing the sailors through their propaganda; he named

specifically three Deputies, Vogtherr, Dittman, and Haase, as having been in conference with the leaders of the mutiny before the outbreak. The disclosure created great excitement and met with indignant denials from the accused. The Chancellor sustained von Capelle and corroborated his accusations.

As a result of the disclosure the movement by the opposition to force the resignation of the Chancellor for failure to support the peace plans of the "no annexationists" failed. Two days later it was announced that von Capelle had resigned, but this was not confirmed up to Oct. 18. The Reichstag adjourned until December, with the political pot seething and a general impression that the days of Chancellor Michaelis were numbered. He was criticised for lack of firmness and was charged with failure to develop definite leadership over any of the conflicting groups.

A former Lieutenant in the German Navy, Rudolph Glatfelder, made public Oct. 16 a circumstantial story of the mutiny, which he declared he personally witnessed and participated in. Earlier in the war he had been exchanged by the Russians as an incapacitated prisoner, having been captured from the German cruiser Magdeburg at the bombardment of the Russian port, Libau, Aug. 4, 1914, in which engagement he lost an eye. In Germany he joined the Social Democrat group, known as the Marxian Internationalists, who have resorted to I. W. W. tactics to strike a blow for German democracy.

He stated that the mutiny was originated by a group of German revolutionists operating in Switzerland. In May, 1917, 149 revolutionary spies, of whom 85 were women, had been sent to German naval stations to foment the disaffection among the sailors. Glatfelder said he was the head of a group that operated at Wilhelmshaven. He asserted that there was located there a hospital with 20,000 patients, known as "repulsive cases," mere human remnants, whom the authorities kept there in concealment,

leaving their families under the impression that they were at the front; he said there were fully 200,000 such repulsive casualties in the empire.

The dead, he added, are buried at sea; as many as 700 have been dropped overboard in one day from the "death ferry." Late in June the crew of a "death ferry" shouted defiantly that the victims were unwilling sacrifices and "would have damned their souls before offering them to the Kaiser." A serious riot ensued; the Captain and four of the crew were overpowered and thrown into the sea; the officiating parson aboard was shot. The crew was overpowered at length, tried, and executed.

This was the beginning. On July 30 8,000 sailors were assembled on the parade ground at Wilhelmshaven to listen to speeches upholding the policy of the Government in the war to offset the socialistic propaganda. As they marched by the platform the Admiral in charge asserted that one of the marching marines had sarcastically smiled at him, whereupon one of the naval officers jumped from the stand and struck the marine in the face with his gloved fist. At once the 8,000 sailors and marines turned on the officers present like wolves and literally tore their bodies into shreds, killing fifty or more. A bloody riot followed; one of the forts took sides with the mutineers and engaged in a bombardment with the ten other coastal forts. The rioters meanwhile began their work of destruction, and in a few hours had blown up four large uncompleted warships in the harbor and burned two Zeppelins, besides warehouses, sheds, wharves, &c. Before the mutineers could reach their ships many of them were mowed down by machine guns. They were at length overpowered by the loyal troops, who were summoned in tens of thousands, and the ringleaders were tried and executed.

It was announced on Oct. 16 that the three Deputies who were accused of fomenting trouble would be prosecuted in the criminal courts.

Slang and Slogans of War in France

By Arthur H. Warner

[Mr. Warner's article, which was contributed to THE NEW YORK TIMES of Oct. 7, 1917, furnishes interesting sidelights on the history of the war in France]

AS a resident of France from the beginning of the war until a few months ago there stand out in my memory four war cries, each marking an epoch in the development of the French spirit. They are:

“France d’abord!” (France first!)

“Jusqu’au bout!” (Unto the end!)

“Coute que coute!” (Cost what it may!)

“On les aura!” (We will get them!)

How that first watchword, “France first!” comes back to one as expressing the spirit of the Summer of 1914, the period of mobilization and upheaval. It appeared in the newspapers, it was printed on stationery, it was on every lip; and, more important, it was in every heart in those early days of danger.

Everything unessential had to give way. Resolutely and gladly the country subjected itself to a policy of elimination. Museums and theatres were closed at once. Expensive shops and luxurious hotels found that they belonged to a life that had ceased to exist, and, one by one, they shut their doors. The sale of absinthe was prohibited, and the cafés of Paris were closed at 8 P. M.

France lived in those days in a state of patriotic exaltation akin to religious frenzy. Dancing and music were suppressed by public accord. One could not even sing or play the piano behind closed doors in one’s own home unless it was the “Marseillaise” or some other patriotic air.

Then came the Autumn, with the news of the human toll France had paid in the retreat from the border and the glorious stand at the Marne. Came, too, the numbing realization that the war, which had been counted on to end by Christmas, must be fought through the Winter. The patriotic exaltation that had carried France through the early weeks was gone, but in its place grew a sterner, deeper courage. It found expression in

two words, made dynamic by use in a message to the people of Paris by General Gallieni. Called upon to serve as Military Governor of the capital when the Germans were just outside its gates, General Gallieni responded:

“I have received the mandate to defend Paris against the invader. This mandate I will fulfill jusqu’au bout!”

“Unto the end!” The soldiers repeated it through gritted teeth as they settled down to hold, from the North Sea to the Vosges, a line of trenches which during that first Winter were little more than drainage canals (which did not drain) and were as yet inadequately provided with heat or shelter.

“Unto the end!” The civilians repeated it as they faced the gigantic problem of sustaining their soldiers and organizing the country for a protracted war.

Spring found the line still firm and the Entente Allies beginning an offensive which, it was then hoped, would sweep the Germans from France.

A new phrase began to appear in the press—“Coute que coute!” (Cost what it may!) It became a watchword. Better pay any price and get through with it. A grim and heroic resolution, but it proved impossible of realization. What had been looked forward to as the great offensive had to be slowed down to await better artillery, more ammunition.

A year later another slogan came into prominence. The defeat of German ambitions at Verdun, and the proof during the Summer of 1916 that at last the Entente Allies had an offensive which could advance against German intrenchments, gave rise to a new sentiment. France had always been hopeful. She now became confident. To voice this new-born attitude she began to popularize a soldier saying of which General Pétain had made use in an order to the troops at Verdun. “On les aura!” (We will get

them!) became the most widespread slogan of the war.

In addition to watchwords which have been associated with passing epochs of the war, there are others, serious and amusing, in which popular philosophy has been crystallized. One of these owes its origin to a drawing by the cartoonist Forain, published early in the conflict, in which a soldier in the trenches is represented as saying to another, "If only they hold out!"

"Who?" asks his companion.

"The civilians!" is the answer.

"If only they hold out!" ("Pourvu qu'ils tiennent!") is quoted again and again by persons writing on the war, and each succeeding month adds to its weight in revealing the importance, in a modern struggle of any length, of the effort and spirit of the civilians.

Artists have found inspiration in another phrase, "Arise, ye dead!" ("Debout, les morts!") The story is that a trench held by French soldiers was entered from one end by Germans, making a surprise attack. A dozen of the French fell, dead or wounded, in the fighting, and the rest, believing themselves outnumbered, finally fled. As the Germans advanced to take possession of the trench one of the men, lying prone before them, rose to his knees in a supreme effort, grasped some hand grenades, and, hurling them at the enemy, shouted to his companions stretched on the ground about him, "Arise, ye dead!"

Several among the wounded responded to the heroic cry, and the Germans, frightened at this almost supernatural occurrence, fell back, though not before the Frenchman who initiated the attack had been killed.

Turning from the heroic to the commonplace, one must not forget to mention the ubiquitous phrase, "C'est la guerre," a standing comment and excuse in France since the war. Sometimes it expresses a philosophical recognition of conditions. Sometimes it is an attempt to cover up personal shortcomings. If you complain to your groceryman that his prices are too high, he shrugs his shoulders and replies, "It's the war." If you scold your laundry woman for dropping a splotch of ink on your best shirt, she falls back on

the same efficient excuse. "It's the war."

Then there is "Taisez-vous! Mefiez-vous! Les oreilles ennemis vous écoutent," which may be translated, "Don't talk! Be on your guard! The ears of the enemy hear you." This was placarded all over France as a warning. It is not certain that it accomplished any good in that direction, but it has furnished a deal of amusement and taken its place among the sayings of the war.

The slang of the war comes next to the slogans as interpretative of the psychology of the conflict. The word to which first place should be given from this standpoint is "embusqué." It means literally "in ambush" or "in hiding," but since the war the word has been popularized as a noun to describe men who have been mobilized, but have made use of influential friends to get them a billet well away from the firing line.

The contempt which the French feel for that type of man may be judged from the fact that to call a man an embusqué is the supreme insult. A woman was recently fined for calling a policeman an embusqué, even in the heat of argument.

At the other end of the pole from the embusqué is the poilu. The explanation has been set forth that poilu, or hairy, as a nickname for the French fighting man is not due to the fact that he is without benefit of barber, but goes back to the time when there existed a body of soldiers who wore hats of hair, from which they came to be known as poilus. As they attained a reputation for great bravery and hardihood, the name came to mean a supersoldier.

Whatever be the historical derivation of the word, it is certain that the average Frenchman uses the term in its literal sense to indicate one whose beard is unshaven and whose hair is unshorn—in other words, a man who has been long enough at the front to become acclimated. The word did not come into general use until some months after the war began. The slang term for a private of the line at the outset of the conflict was piou-piou.

The respect, almost reverence, attached to the word "poilu" in France today un-

doubtedly helps many a soldier to bear the grime and the discomfort of the war. It may sometimes lead to an unnecessary exaggeration of them. A clean, new uniform, for instance, is an object of suspicion. The wearer is likely to be taken for that most odious of all creatures, an embusqué.

A French soldier is also spoken of as a "blue," (bleu,) appropriate in view of the color of the new army uniform. The young soldier, who has been called up since the war began, is a "bluet," (bleuet,) and the familiar blue corn flower has become his emblem. Another and older term for one of these youngsters is a Marie-Louise. Strictly speaking, he is a recruit called up ahead of the usual time, but, of course, this is the case in respect to all the new classes mobilized during the present war. The word goes back to the marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise of Austria in 1810, when France had exhausted her men and was calling up boys for the army.

When a "bluet," or Marie-Louise, first takes the field, he is naturally the object of much good-natured chaff from the veterans. Pierre Falké, a French illustrator, has made a drawing of a smooth-faced youngster arriving at the front, where he is greeted by an underofficer, with a beard like a hedgehog's back, who says, sternly, "It's understood now that if by tomorrow you haven't a mustache, I'll give you four days' imprisonment."

The war seems to have made of the average soldier a philosopher and a fatalist, who jests at danger and radiates cheerfulness, but there are occasions when he does not live up to this part. One of them is when, on leave from the

trenches, he reaches the last day of his holiday and must return to the front. Then he loses his smile and his banter, and in soldier slang has the cafard. Literally, the word means cockroach.

The source of that word boche, an abbreviation of alboche or alleboche, has been a subject of discussion in France since the war brought the term into prominence. The most plausible explanation seems to be that, in French slang, it is not an infrequent device to substitute boche or oche for the final syllable of a word, with a view to treating it in a trivial or disdainful way, and that alleboche has been thus made from allemand, the recognized word for German.

The spirit of jest and raillery which animates the soldier at the front is expressed in the prevailing description of a shell as a marmite, which in normal life is a pot for cooking stew, and, by extension, the stew itself. Bullets are "prunes," (pruneaux.) A soldier refers to his bayonet affectionately as his "Rosalie," or, more slightly, as a "fork" or "toothpick." A machine gun is sometimes a moulin à café, or coffee grinder, and on other occasions a machine à découdre, that is, a machine to unsew, or an "unsewing machine."

Of course, the French soldier is continually christening by new names the familiar objects of his daily life. The beef with which he is served is known as "monkey," (singe,) while wine passes under a number of names, the commonest of which is pinard. The poets of the trenches know how to praise their pinard with all the enthusiasm, if not with the genius, of Omar Khayyám.

A Boy's Last Letter to His Mother

Story of an 18-Year-Old Hero From Perugia

SOON after Italy's declaration of war, in May, 1915, Enzo Valentini, a boy of 18 in the Perugia high school, son of the Mayor of that city, wrote to his mother this noble letter, containing his last will and testament:

"Little mother, in a few days I am go-

ing to leave for the front. For your dear sake I am writing this farewell, which you will read only if I die. Let it also be my adieu to papa, to my brothers, to all those who loved me in this world. Because in life my heart, in its love and gratitude to you, has always given you

its best thoughts, it is to you also that I desire to make known my last wishes.

"You know the joys of my life have been poetry, art, and science. * * * Many persons have loved me. To each of them you will give in remembrance of me some trifle that was mine and that you will yourself choose from the things that you care for least. I wish that they, too, should possess something of the friend who has vanished, to rise like the flame above the clouds, above the flesh, *et ultra*, (you remember my motto?) into the sun, into the soul of the universe. * * * You will therefore find herewith a list of names.

"Try, if you can, not to weep for me too much. Think that, even though I do not return, I am not dead. My body, the less important part of me, suffers, wears out, and dies; but not myself—I the soul, cannot die, because I come from God and must return to God. I was created for happiness and through the joy that underlies all suffering I must return to the happiness eternal. If I have been a little time the prisoner of my body, I am none the less eternal. My death is a liberation, the beginning of the true life, the return to the Infinite.

"So do not weep for me. If you think of the immortal beauty of the ideas to which my soul has willingly sacrificed my body, you will not weep. But if your mother heart weeps, let the tears flow: a mother's tears will always be sacred. May God keep account of them: they will be the stars of his crown. * * *

"Be strong, little mother. From the beyond your son says good-bye to you, to papa, to the brothers, to all those who loved him—your son who has given his body to fight those who wished to extinguish the light of the world."

The story of the rare spirit that penned the foregoing lines has been told by the young man's lyceum teacher, Francesco Picco, in a brochure ("Breviario di guerra di uno studente," Turin, Paravia, 1917) containing long extracts from the young soldier's notes and letters. "Brilliantly cultivated," says the teacher, "young Valentini also possessed, along with a clear call for the natural sciences, certain wonderful artistic gifts. He had

made a collection of insects, and won public approval by an exhibit of his pastels and aquarelles. His style, flexible and expressive, was already formed. But he instantly abandoned his pen, his pencils, and his brushes and left for the war, filled with a sincere and joyous enthusiasm. He volunteered as a common soldier and was soon away in the Alps.

"The longer I stay here," he wrote, "the more I love the mountains. Their spell is slower than that of the sea, but it is deeper and more lasting. Every hour that passes, every cloud, every morning mist clothes the Alps in new beauty so great that even the rudest of our brave soldiers, peasants though they be, pause to look; it may be only an instant, but it is enough to prove that the soul never forgets its celestial origin, even if it be imprisoned in the roughest shell. The days follow each other calmly, uniformly serene. It seems as if the Autumn ought never to end. The divine solemnity of the nights is inexpressible, especially now that the moon fills them with soft enchantment. There are hours in the day when everything is so saturated with light, and when the silence is so profound that the light seems to cease, letting the silence blaze forth into the immense harmony." (Sept. 20.) "At nightfall," he wrote later, "when the fires reddens the vast blue in the direction of the barracks, we get under way. At 10 o'clock I reach my tent, dead with fatigue, and happy, convinced that the world is beautiful."

Such was the life of Enzo Valentini at the front from the middle of July to the latter half of October, 1915. "I have not yet been in battle," he wrote to his teacher, but by the time the letter had been read he had fallen mortally wounded. His company, entering the trenches Oct. 17, had taken part in the ceaseless combats that raged about the Col di Lana. In the afternoon of the 22d came the assault upon the Sano di Mezzodi. When the turn of his platoon came, "beautiful and full of audacity, he was the first to dash from the trench, drawing after him all who hesitated," and making the mountains ring with the old Italian war cry of liberty, "Savoia! Italia!"

He ran far forward without being touched by the infernal hail from the Austrian guns, paused to embrace his friend, Lieutenant Mayo, and then, still leading the charge, fell pierced by five shrapnel bullets. His comrades carried him back, dying, to a grotto, where surgeons dressed his wounds. The Lieutenant who helped to carry him, concludes his narrative thus:

"We laid him down on a litter before the grotto, amid the great rocks, under

the sombre vault of the sky, his face upturned to the stars. He was a little depressed, asked for a drink, and fainted; they carried him to the operating room and I never saw him again. I have been told that they carried him down the side of Mount Mesola to "his" little lake, and that he sleeps there in death. But for us he is still living in the glory of his youth, there on the Alps, waving his cap with an edelweiss flower in it, and crying, 'Savoia!'"

For Women Who Write to Soldiers

Words of Advice from Marcel Prévost

Member of the French Academy

This appeal to the women of France, from the pen of one of the foremost living French writers, recently appeared on the front page of the Bulletin des Armées, the official organ of the French Army, from which it has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

MY anxious sisters, the women of France, it is to you that I address myself; I wish that these very simple lines may come to you at the moment when you are beginning a letter to the loved one at the front * * * particularly if he is your son, your brother, your husband, your father, and if, therefore, the letter you are going to write is to carry to him the odor of the fireside, the fragrance of the home.

Women of France, I see you as if I were sitting by your side. The old white-haired mother, the young wife whose swift, healthy blood colors her cheeks, the young girl obstinately secret over the anguish of her heart, the schoolgirl whose childhood has been ripened too soon by war. * * * And I see, too, the table, a thing of art or a piece of kitchen furniture; the ink bottle, an antique gem or a humble bit of spattered glass; the paper from a peddler's cart, ruled off in naive squares, or the beautiful sheets of tinted vellum, marked with a monogram; the rude pencil or the elegant pen. * * * I see these accessories of the letter to be written, and I see her who is about to write it. Will she kindly listen to me before tracing a line?

Frenchwoman, what are you going to write to the soldier who is bound to you

by ties of blood, by ties of love, and for whom your letter will be both something of yourself and something of the home? Oh! I know what comes first by instinct, before everything else—I know the words that are inclosed in the first drop of ink or in the extreme point of your lead pencil: "How long the time is, and how I yearn to see you again!" That is what is burning in your thoughts and in your fingers. When you shall have written that, it seems to you that you will be a little comforted. Then your instinct will prompt you to depict the cruel void in the home left by the absent one, all that is going not so well, or not going at all, since he departed, all that weighs heavily upon the lives of women when the men are far away. To tell of these tears and troubles, is this not to remind him how indispensable he is, how much reason you have to miss him and to love him?

Finally, having described with all the troubled warmth of your heart what a desert you are living in, your instinct will impel you to conclude with a new and more ardent lament over this calamity of war, which leaves you so lonely—a long, heartrending, desolating wail, like that of a faithful dog that has been abandoned.

That is what you wish to write, is it

not? Well, that is just what should not be written if you do not wish to harm him who is to receive the letter and who loves you.

It is for him, not for you, that the letter ought to be written. It is not to solace you, but to help him to live his hard life. His life is dangerous almost without cessation, and when it does cease to be dangerous it often becomes more dreary. Almost everything around him conspires to use up his spirit and ruin his resistance. The thing to do is to send him strength, if you can; in any case, it is a sin to breathe weakness into him.

What then? Should one lie to him?

No, women of France, the poilu wants no lies. Tell him the truth, but truth that is comforting; the little, happy things of the day and place, the winning of a school medal by the child, the fine health of the old folks, the solution of a problem that had worried you, the thriving appearance of a certain crop. A letter that begins with good news is like a visitor who smiles from the moment of entering the door. Afterward there will be time to tell the less comforting truths, but only the necessary ones, those which must be known without delay, which cannot wait for the home furlough. The rule is this: Never to tell the soldier at the front anything that will sadden him and that he does not need to know. To take away, without absolute necessity, a little of his courage is as bad as if you took away some of his blood.

Above all, avoid vague rumors, good or bad, which are based on nothing, and which are almost always harmful. At the time of the German attack on Verdun there were women who wrote from the distant Dordogne or from Brittany: "They say Verdun is going to be taken." What madness! They were writing that to the men who, in the ravines of Le Mort Homme, were driving back the barbarians with hand grenades! It was criminal, but it was also great foolishness. In like manner when the Paris factory girls, under the paternal eye of agents, sang gayly through the streets, "We want our twenty cents and the English vacation week," there were women in the provinces who wrote to the poilus on

the strength of burlesque tittle-tattle, "They say there is revolution in Paris." What a sinister fantasy! I may add that false "good news," such as "They say that the war is soon going to end," is scarcely less silly or injurious. What sadness, what deceptions have been promoted in this way, with the best of intentions, from behind the lines to the front, between two beings who love each other!

Women, tell the soldier only things that are certain.

The letter is finished, the information about events, people, the home, family affairs is given with sincerity, yet with the wish to omit nothing that is comforting, to defer as much as possible all disquieting news that can wait, and to abstain from all vague predictions, good or bad. With what shall you close?

Above all, I insist, not with this evident and sterile prayer: "Ah, that this may end soon, and that you may return!" Your soldier knows very well that you long for that, but if you must say it to him again, that is not the best way to do it. You should put it in some such form as this:

"The home and household are waiting for you, and are thinking only of you; but we, who are suffering less than you, wish to equal your patience and courage, for we know that peace can come only through patience and courage. All the rest is empty words. The home and the household are waiting for you; you continue to be everything here, the same as before, more than before. We are trying to keep it prosperous and inviting for the day of your return. Our hearts are more loving and tender than ever for you, and every hour of separation makes you more precious to us."

Say that—you will say it much better than I—and then drop the letter in the post box. You will thus have the joy of thinking that, thanks to it, the man who receives it will have a little comfort. He will read and reread its pages, each time feeling himself more secure, and when evening comes he will sleep more calmly. Think how, if your letter robbed him of rest or even spoiled one hour of sleep—

that precious sleep which is broken into by the inclemencies of the weather, by the noises, the alarms, the whole formid-

able nightmare of war—how sad and wrong it would be! Wouldn't you feel remorse, women of France?

How Greece Prolonged the War

Acts of Pro-German Cabinets Under King Constantine Revealed Before Commission of Inquiry

A COMMISSION of inquiry is investigating the acts of the pro-German Cabinets of Skouloudis, Professor Lambros, and other members of the Cabinets which served German interests in Greece until the abdication of King Constantine. The former Greek Minister at Sofia, Naoum, in his evidence showed that when Greece mobilized in 1915 a panic arose in Sofia; the Bulgarian newspapers quieted the excitement by announcing that the King of Greece was opposed to the proceeding and would force the resignation of Venizelos, and it developed that the Bulgarian Foreign Office was informed of this from Athens several days before it occurred, thus proving the close relation between the Greek Court and the German interests.

In an address before the Greek Chamber, late in August, M. Venizelos laid bare the treachery of the ex-King to the Allies. He related how the King, after giving him permission to proceed with a declaration of friendliness to the Entente early in September, 1914, changed his mind and refused to sanction any proceedings against Turkey. He told of negotiations which followed with Bulgaria, and how the attitude of the latter changed when \$100,000,000 was received from Berlin and Vienna, showing that she was leagued with the Central Powers.

Greece and Gallipoli

Subsequently he proposed to the King to aid the Entente with an expeditionary force against the Dardanelles. The King gave his approval, but it was again frustrated by the pro-German staff and withdrawn. He asserted that if Greece had acted when he urged intervention,

Greek troops would have been in Constantinople within a fortnight, as the Gallipoli Peninsula was at that time practically defenseless.

M. Venizelos read out at this point a number of dispatches from the Greek representative at Constantinople in confirmation of the statement that the Turks had been preparing to evacuate the city. Proceeding, he insisted that he had been right in wishing to send the Greek Army to Gallipoli, and explained in detail the advantages to Greece that would accrue from the occupation and internationalization of the Dardanelles. Turkey, he argued, would have been destroyed, Russia would have had her food supplies by sea, would have been able to export her grain, and would have escaped the enemy's offensive of the Spring of 1916. Bulgaria, seeing the Greek and Franco-British armies on her rear, would probably not have dared to intervene; while the prestige of Greece would have been augmented, for, thanks to her efforts, Germany would have lost the East, and the war would have been ended one year earlier.

He told of the election in the Spring of 1916, when his party won 184 seats against a combined opposition of 123; yet the Gounaris Cabinet, which had been repudiated, held on ten weeks longer, and it was not until Aug. 10, 1916, that the King again sent for him—and then "it was not with the intention of co-operating sincerely with me," he added, "but in order to plot against me."

M. Venizelos told how he gave new assurances of help to Serbia, and reported the King as saying: "I do not wish to go to the help of Serbia because Germany will be victorious, and I do not

wish to be defeated." M. Venizelos, in reply, put before the King the strategical arguments and other considerations which weighed in favor of an immediate attack on the Bulgarians, whose morale was shattered, who were in possession of only 400 rounds of ammunition per gun, and who would need a considerable time to replenish their supplies. "If we prevented the crushing of Serbia," he had said to the King, "within thirty days we should get to Sofia; in any case, we should get to a point beyond which the Austro-German advance for technical reasons would be impossible."

To all these arguments the King's only reply continued to be: "I do not wish to intervene; we shall be beaten by Germany." The Prime Minister then told the King that he had not the right to enter into divergence for the second time from the leader of the majority of the nation; it would be a better course for the King, he declared, to decree the abolition of the Government. The King replied: "For national affairs I am responsible before God." M. Venizelos then offered his resignation, but the King obliged him to remain in power in order to deal with the mobilization. King Constantine then gave his consent to a request being made to the Allies for the 150,000 men whom Greece was to have furnished to Serbia in accordance with the treaty. M. Venizelos had no sooner relinquished office than the King changed his mind, but the step had already been taken, and in due course the Franco-British troops landed at Saloniki. The Zaimis Cabinet did not protest against the landing. "If at this point I did not become a revolutionary," declared M. Venizelos, "it was because a civil war would have been provoked, and Bulgaria would have profited by the occasion to invade Greece."

Returning to the subject of the treaty with Serbia, M. Venizelos declared that M. Zaimis would be known to history as the man who had broken the word of Greece, and recalled how the resignation of M. Zaimis had been brought about by the insulting attitude adopted toward the Chamber by the Minister for War, this event being followed by the formation of the Skouloudis-Gounaris Cabinet, which

was responsible for the shameful treachery of the surrender of Fort Rupel.

The latest dispatches from Athens confirm the fact that a new army of 300,000 will now be mobilized by Greece as soon as the equipment can be supplied by the Allies. The plan of the Allies in the Balkans is said to be to advance upon Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, and thus to cut off communications between Germany and Turkey. Germany is said to be drawing great quantities of supplies, especially oil and wheat, from Turkey, and this traffic cannot be interrupted until the line is cut by the international army now operating in Macedonia. The 300,000 men Greece will add to the Anglo-French troops will give the Allies a preponderance of strength which is expected to overcome the enemy in that theatre of the war.

It is stated that the mobilization by the former King Constantine emptied the warehouses and used up all military stores and equipment, leaving available for military employment only the 80,000 troops raised by the Provisional Government of Venizelos at Saloniki, who are now fighting side by side with the Anglo-French army in Macedonia.

Greek Minister at Washington

Georges Roussos, the new Greek Minister to the United States, presented his credentials on Sept. 21, and in the course of his address to President Wilson, said:

Greece, my country, is just emerging from an exceptionally grave crisis. It overcame it because of the Hellenic people's devotion to the democratic principles which have always been theirs, and because of the assistance which the protecting powers graciously extended to them.

As soon as the Hellenic people were free masters of their own destinies they unconditionally performed the duty they had incessantly proclaimed as theirs; they took sides with the noble and generous nations that are striving to secure for the world an era of justice and true freedom. Among those nations the United States is one of the most spirited in the pursuit of that end. Through you, as its authorized spokesman, Mr. President, it has uttered words which startled mankind and proclaimed principles that have for once and all established the sanctity of the purposes it aims to achieve. The weak, the

oppressed, all now live in the certainty that their liberties will be restored.

In his reply President Wilson said;

You state that the main object of your mission is to draw closer the ties of traditional friendship which bind Greece to the United States. I receive this statement with the same pleasure that I accept your credentials, and, in turn, beg to assure you that I shall be always willing and ready heartily to co-operate with you in striving to give substantial reality to those Divine ideals of right, liberty, and justice by which both Greece and the

United States of America seem to be guided.

I was more than gratified when the supremacy of democracy was proclaimed throughout Greece by the action of your Government in casting in its destiny with the United States and the allied powers of Europe in the great conflict in which they are engaged for the preservation of civilization and the realization of the rights of the weak and oppressed. I thank you for your feeling of unity with the United States in this noble and righteous cause.

"Good-bye, Soldier Boys!"

This striking statement of why the United States is at war with Germany appeared as an editorial article in The Oakland (Cal.) Enquirer when Oakland's first contribution to the army that fights for freedom of the seas marched away into history. After a reference to the civil war veterans who fought on land and ocean, the article continues:

The lads that go now, high hearted as were they, go to bleed and do and die in a war that is fought under water, on the surface, and in the air above. They go to face the clouds of poisonous gas and the barrage of fire. They go in the face of all these, to give blow for blow, to pit American wits, initiative, and courage against these qualities in the servants of imperial ambition.

They go to do more. They go to prove that they are the soldiers of a great Republic whose people are civilized. They go to write it into history that humanity, mercy, and justice have their place in war as in peace. They go to victory, in which the despoilers of the homes of noncombatants shall be punished, the monsters who deflower women shall die wretchedly, the inhuman wretches who condemn noncombatants to slavery shall pass under the rod. They go to compel the Huns who have violated all law, di-

vine and human, to drain to the dregs the bitter cup of sorrow they have pressed to the lips of the weak and the innocent.

They go, God's own avengers of the unspeakable suffering of the people of Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Serbia, Rumania, and Armenia. As they march, unseen in the clear air above them are the spirits of the American mothers and babies that perished in the roaring sea, murdered in the Lusitania. They go to cleanse the earth of the men who began by violating treaties and have progressed by violating the common promptings of humanity which have been held sacred even by the red Indians of America and the black tribes of Africa.

They are the armed guards of American honor, of the covenants of Almighty God. On this great mission we send them with every blessing, with every ascription of honor. They go to prove that this great Republic is great not only in material things, in its proud cities, its far-flung fields, and its laden orchards and purpling vineyards, but great in the ineffable things of the spirit, in the courage of its people and its purpose to fling high and far the banners of the best civilization created by man.

Good-bye, boys, acquit yourselves like men!



The Month's Developments in Russia

A Coalition Cabinet and an Advisory Parliament Formed The Korniloff Affair—Soukhomlinoff's Conviction

RUSSIA'S internal politics during the month ended Oct. 16, 1917, assumed a form which could be called stable if compared to the welter from which they emerged after the so-called Korniloff revolt. Of the many assemblies and conferences convoked since that period, the nearest approach to a representative body was the Democratic Congress, which met at Moscow Sept. 27. It contained 1,200 delegates coming from all over Russia. The presiding officers were five representatives of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, five each from town Zemstvos, and two each from other groups. N. C. Tscheidse, President of the Council of Soldiers and Workmen, opened the conference, and was followed by M. Avskentieff, President of the Peasants' Delegates.

The congress was summoned by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Central Council. It was assumed to be under the control of the ultra-Socialists; the extreme radicals, or Bolsheviks, thought they would be able to sway the convention to their program of extreme measures, and to seize the reins of power. But the congress, while radical in its demands, did not go to extremes. Premier Kerensky consented to address the body. He was sympathetically heard by the more moderate groups, and exercised a profound influence over the attitude and acts of the convention.

After several days' sessions it became apparent that more moderate counsels were in the ascendency. A Coalition Cabinet, in which the Constitutional Democrats should participate, was favorably discussed. The Congress adopted a resolution providing for a preliminary Parliament, which is to have a consultative and not a legislative function, and which is to consist of 231 members, of whom 110 represent the Zemstvos and towns. The Congress, by a vote of 839

to 106, passed a resolution declaring for this Parliament, but at the same time demanded that no step be taken toward naming a Coalition Cabinet without its sanction.

Coalition Cabinet Named

Premier Kerensky on the same day again exhibited his iron resolution by practically defying the Congress and naming a real Coalition Cabinet, as follows:

Premier, A. F. KERENSKY.
Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. I. TERESTCHENKO.

Minister of Interior, M. NIKITIN.
Minister of Agriculture, M. AVSKENTIEFF.

Minister of Labor, M. GVOZDEFF.
Minister of Supplies, M. PROKOPOVITCH.

Minister of Finance, M. BERNATZKY.
Minister of Religion, M. KARTASHOFF.

Minister of Public Welfare, M. KISHKIN.

Minister of Trade and Industry, A. I. KONOVALOFF.

State Controller, M. SMYRNOFF.
Minister of Justice, M. MALYANTOVITCH.

Minister of Education, M. SALASKIN.
President of the Ecumenical Council, M. TRETYAKOFF.

Minister of War, General VERHOVSKY.

Minister of Marine, ADMIRAL VERSKOVSKY.

Minister of Ways and Communications, M. LIVEREVSKY.

The Constitutional Democratic Party, against which the Democratic Congress was in opposition, is represented by Kishkin, Konovaloff, and Smyrnoff. The portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, and Interior remain unchanged.

In addition to carrying out an active foreign policy, the new Government declared that the serious internal difficulty of Russia was due chiefly to the Korniloff rebellion. The New Government pledged that its business acts would be on the basis of agreements between representatives of the bourgeoisie, the

tax-paying element, and the revolutionary democracy. It pointed out that the success of such a program is possible only if the nation is united. The Government's statement in conclusion said that it had three principal aims:

To raise the fighting power of the army and navy.

To bring order to the country by fighting anarchy.

To call the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible.

The Cabinet is determined to ignore as far as possible the activities of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and centre its efforts in gaining the support of the armies.

Functions of the New Parliament

The new Parliament, which is called the "Temporary Council of the Russian Republic," was accepted by the new Coalition Government as an advisory body, and will be organized by the Government. It will consist of 120 delegates, from all groups and all parts of the country, and will have the right to interpellate the Government, which must reply. The Government, however, will not be responsible to the Parliament. This body will remain until the Constituent Assembly acts. The Constituent Assembly has been called to assemble in December; it will consist of 730 delegates, to be elected by popular vote. The military in all parts of Russia will take part in the election of delegates under the same conditions as civilians.

The new Government seems to have met popular approval except among the extreme Radicals, or Bolsheviks; but the impression has gained ground that this group is losing its influence. The situation was complicated in the early days of October by a strike on all railway lines for higher wages; there was a complete tieup, but after a few days the matter was settled. The political situation in the country at this writing (Oct. 16) is more promising than a month ago, but the Government is still seriously beset by the pernicious activities of the Bolsheviks, who are outspoken in their hostility. The month has been marked by general unrest, accompanied by some loss of faith in the revolution by the masses on ac-

count of the jarring political factions and by a serious increase in disorders. A revolt broke out in Turkestan early in October, and a state of war was declared in that province. General Korovnichenko, the commander at Kazan, (Eastern European Russia,) was given troops, with orders to suppress the revolt.

Island Surrendered to Germans

A much more serious occurrence was the taking of Oesel Island, in the Gulf of Riga, by the Germans. This is believed to foreshadow an attack on Reval, endangering Kronstadt and Petrograd. The German forces, which landed on Oesel Island, under the cover of ninety war vessels, had occupied up to Oct. 16 practically the whole of the island. German torpedo boats penetrated the inner waters between the islands of Oesel and Dagö, and in repeated engagements pressed back the Russian naval forces into the Moonsund. The Germans were thus about to gain full control of the Gulf of Riga, threatening the Russian capital itself. A further exodus of civilians from Petrograd was reported to be in progress on Oct. 16.

Premier Kerensky, in an urgent appeal to the Baltic fleet to defend the fatherland "in this hour of trial," divulged the fact that the garrison of Kronstadt, the chief fortress and military port of Russia and the station of the Baltic fleet, twenty miles west of Petrograd, by its attitude already had weakened the defensive resources of the fortress. Eight dreadnoughts, a dozen light cruisers, forty torpedo boats, and thirty mine sweepers participated in the German landing on Oesel Island.

New Light on Korniloff Affair

Later revelations at the end of September and early in October strengthened the belief that the so-called revolt of General Korniloff was attributable to a blunder of Lvoff and others who served as emissaries between the General and the Premier. A copy of the Order of the Day issued by General Korniloff on Sept. 10 explains in detail how the error arose. It appears that the Provisional Government was apprehensive of a serious Bolshevik uprising, and asked Kor-

niloff, as Generalissimo, to place at its disposal several divisions of troops. He gave the orders, feeling that the revolt should be summarily suppressed, and that a strong Government of a few should be formed at once to save the country. His statement continues as follows:

Later there came to me Vladimir Lvoff, speaking on behalf of Kerensky, and asked me to state my views as to the best method of organizing the new Government. I replied that I considered the only solution lay in the establishment of a dictatorship and the proclamation of martial law. By dictatorship I did not mean a one-man dictatorship, inasmuch as I had pointed out the necessity of my participation in the Government. I let it be known in making this decision that I considered and still consider any return to the old régime an utter impossibility. The task of the new Government should be devoted exclusively to saving the country.

Later I exchanged telegrams with Kerensky, who asked if I would confirm what I had said. As I could not entertain the idea that an emissary sent me by the Provisional Government could distort the sense of my conversation, I replied that I did confirm my words fully and again invited Kerensky and Savinkoff to come to Stavka, as I could not answer for their safety if they remained in Petrograd. It is evident from the foregoing that my proceedings were in full accord with the Provisional Government, and I had every reason to believe that the Ministry was not playing a double game.

I learned to the contrary when I received a telegram saying that I immediately must hand over my supreme command. I conferred by telegraph with the Ministry of War and learned that Savinkoff not only had repudiated the proposals made by me, but even disavowed the fact of their having been made. Considering that further hesitation presented fatal dangers, and moreover as the orders issued could not be countermanded, I decided, with a full appreciation of the weight of my responsibility, not to hand over the supreme command, hoping that I might save my country and the Russian people from the imminent danger of enslavement by the Germans.

General Chablovsky, President of the commission of inquiry into the Korniloff affair, returned to Petrograd Oct. 15, and in an interview declared that he did not see in the actions of General Korniloff and the other accused officers any character of high treason. It was proved, he said, that General Korniloff

throughout the movement committed no act of a nature to weaken the fighting front. General Chablovsky expressed the opinion that General Korniloff could be sentenced only under Article 100, dealing with attempts against the established régime and involving the penalty of life imprisonment.

Conviction of Soukhomlinoff

The trial of General Soukhomlinoff, former Minister of War, accused of high treason, ended with his conviction on Sept. 26, 1917. He was sentenced to hard labor for life on the charges of high treason, abuse of confidence, and fraud. Mme. Soukhomlinoff was acquitted.

The jury deliberated seven hours and announced that they had arrived at a verdict of guilty on twelve of the thirteen counts preferred against Soukhomlinoff. A verdict of not guilty on the first charge, accusing him of inaction and inertia during the war with the object of assisting the enemy by weakening the Russian armed forces, was rendered.

General Soukhomlinoff received the verdict calmly, but his wife burst into tears. The jury found no extenuating circumstances, and the Prosecutor demanded the highest penalty, imprisonment for life at hard labor.

General Soukhomlinoff delivered the concluding speech with signs of great emotion. He affirmed that he had always been an ardent reformer and did more for the army than his predecessors had done in thirty years. Instead of the expected 3,000,000 soldiers, he pointed out, there had been mobilized before the beginning of active operations from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000, and now there were from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. The Germans, he declared, had lavished praise on his successful mobilization. With a flourish of his arms, Soukhomlinoff exclaimed:

"If I had lacked the self-sacrifice to abandon a splendid post at Kiev to go to that penitentiary, the War Office, I should never be here."

Soukhomlinoff lamented that of all the statesmen who could bear witness to his reforms, the chief of them, Stolypin, was now in his grave.

At the trial the chief accusers were Rodzianko, President of the Duma; Dr. Milukoff, the leader of the revolution, and Gutchkoff, first War Minister after the revolution. M. Rodzianko declared that General Soukhomlinoff's conduct had seriously alarmed the Duma a long time before the war, for it clearly saw his criminal slowness in the organization of the Russian Army. The ex-Minister, M. Rodzianko asserted, did not love the Duma, and showed his contempt for it. When the situation at the front became threatening, owing to the lack of shells, and the Duma sounded the alarm and appealed to the patriotism of the workers, General Soukhomlinoff at first feigned a great interest in the question, but soon afterward he began to oppose a systematic resistance to the efforts of the Deputies. This resistance made worse and complicated still more the terrible situation of the army, which found itself under the necessity of fighting without arms. In March, 1915, the Grand Duke Nicholas declared that the continuation of the war in these conditions was becoming impossible. "I then went," M.

Rodzianko continued, "to Galicia, and what I saw there filled me with terror. I affirm that the responsibility for the enormous losses which we suffered during the retreat entirely falls upon General Soukhomlinoff. The Committee of Defense which was specially created to investigate the activities of the ex-War Minister at once established his culpability. I then appealed to the ex-Czar, and persuaded him to convoke the Duma and to dismiss Soukhomlinoff."

The prosecution, in summing up the evidence, declared that when the investigation of General Soukhomlinoff's affairs began there was no thought that the charges would include spy work and treason. The evidence, however, he declared, led constantly to the close connection of General Soukhomlinoff and his wife with Colonel Maisoidof and other notorious spies.

The Prosecutor said the evidence proved that General Soukhomlinoff carelessly permitted war plans to lie about his house, especially in his wife's boudoir, where an Austrian agent had easy access to them.

General Russky's Account of the Czar's Abdication

Nicholas II. signed the notice of abdication at Pskof on March 15, 1917. One account of the event, given by Deputy V. V. Shulgin, (also spelled Choulgine,) was printed in the July issue of this magazine. Another and fuller story of the episode, as related by General Nicholas V. Russky, the chief representative of the Russian Army in this act of the revolution, is here placed on record. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the original article, which appeared in the Russkaya Volya a few days after the incident.

AT the time of abdicating the throne, the Czar made no attempt to send soldiers to quell the revolution, for the simple reason that I proposed his retirement at a moment when his situation was already beyond remedy. I learned on March 10 that he was preparing to return to Tsarskoe Selo. I was surprised, therefore, to receive a telegram that night stating that the Czar's train was scheduled from Bologoe through Dno to Pskof. It was to arrive there at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 14th.

I drove up to the station to meet him, and ordered that his arrival should take place unnoticed. The train came at 8. From the Czar's first words I was convinced that he was in the hands of fate. Nicholas usually said little, and on this occasion he was even more curt and economical of words. Events had not only agitated him, but also made him angry. He never dreamed of adopting repressive measures against the revolution, however; on the contrary, at 2 o'clock that night he sent for me and said: "I have

decided to submit and to give the people a responsible Ministry. What is your opinion?"

A manifesto concerning a responsible Ministry lay already signed upon the table. I knew that this compromise came too late, and that it would fail, but I had no intention of expressing my opinion, because I had no direct instructions from the Executive Committee, nor even simple news of what was taking place. Therefore I proposed to talk by telephone immediately with Rodzianko.

I succeeded in getting Rodzianko on the line at Petrograd in the office of the Chief of Staff only after 3 o'clock at night. That conversation of ours lasted more than two hours. Rodzianko gave me all the details of the quick turn of events, and definitely told me that the only way for the Czar was manifestly to abdicate the throne. Following my talk with Rodzianko, I immediately transmitted this fact to Alexeieff and to the commanding officers at the front.

At 10 o'clock in the morning I went to the Czar with a report of my conversations. Guarding against lack of confidence in my words, I asked to have with me an officer of my general staff, Danieloff, and a commissary officer, General Savich, who would support me in my persistent advice to the Czar to abdicate for the sake of Russia's welfare and of victory over the enemy. At that time I already had answers from General Alexeieff, the Grand Duke Nicholas, General Brusiloff, and General Evert, who all unitedly recognized the necessity of abdication.

The Czar listened to my report and stated that he was ready to abdicate the throne, but would desire to do this in presence of Rodzianko, as the latter had promised to come to Pskof. However, Rodzianko had given no indication of a desire to come. On the contrary, in my night conversation with him over the wire he had definitely said that he could by no means leave Petrograd, and that he did not wish to do so.

We left the Czar with the expectation of decisive action on his part. After luncheon, at 3 o'clock, the Czar called me in and stated that the instrument of his

abdication was already signed, and that he abdicated in favor of his son. He handed me a telegram, signed by him, concerning his abdication; I put it into my pocket and went out, intending to dispatch it from my office. Quite unexpectedly, at the office I found a telegram from Gutchkoff and Shulgin, containing the information that they had left Petrograd for Pskof at 3:35 P. M. On receiving that telegram I refrained from publishing the document in regard to abdication, and went back to the Czar. He evidently was quite glad to hear that these commissioners were on their way, hoping that their coming to me was evidence of some change in the situation.

The commissioners' train for some reason was late, arriving about 10 at night. The Czar waited with impatient expectation. I personally kept away from him when he hastened to meet and speak with them, but during the whole time old Fredericks [Count Fredericks, the Court Chamberlain] never left him alone.

At the moment of the commissioners' arrival I was in my railway carriage. Disregarding my order that on the arrival of the commissioners they should first be brought to me, one of the Generals got them first, met them, and took them straight to the Czar. When I came into the Czar's car, A. I. Gutchkoff was reporting to him in detail concerning the late events. A specially strong impression was made upon Nicholas II. by the news that his personal guard had gone over to the rebel army. That fact struck him so forcibly that he did not listen attentively to the further report of Gutchkoff.

The rest we all know. At the Czar's question, "What is to be done now?" Gutchkoff, in a tone permitting of only one decision, said, "You must abdicate the throne."

The Czar quietly listened to the commissioners of the Executive Committee. After a long pause he answered:

"Very well. I have already signed the act of abdication in favor of my son, but now I have come to the conclusion that my son's health is not strong enough. I do not wish to part from him. Therefore

I have decided to make over the throne to Michael Alexandrovich."

The commissioners made no reply. The Czar retired with Fredericks into a neighboring car to compose a new document of abdication. For ten minutes a heavy silence reigned. Finally Fredericks appeared with a typewritten act of abdication which the Czar had signed. The commissioners asked Fredericks to countersign the signature. With the assent of the Czar, Fredericks attached his signature. There are two copies of the act of abdication, one of which is kept by me; the other I gave to Gutschkoff, taking his receipt for it.

Thus in the course of twenty-four hours Nicholas II. signed in succession three acts: at 2 o'clock at night the 2d (15th) of March, a manifesto concerning the granting of a responsible Ministry; at 3 o'clock in the daytime an abdication in favor of his son Alexis, and finally at 10 o'clock at night the abdication in favor of Michael Alexandrovich.

The arrival of the Czar at Pskof was known to all, but a surprising coolness and indifference to that fact prevailed among the inhabitants and soldiers. The Czar often walked entirely alone upon the station platform, and none of the public gave attention to him. He spent his time exclusively in company of several Generals of his suite who accompanied him.

Inside of half an hour after the delivery of the act of abdication and the departure of the Executive Committee of the commissioners the Czar's private train was routed through Dvinsk to Stanka, and on March 4 (17) at 6 o'clock in the evening I received a telegram from Stanka announcing his arrival there.

[In conclusion General Russky exhibited Nicholas's signed act of abdication. This is a closely written telegram blank, on which a typewriting machine has inscribed the famous text of the abdication. Nicholas's signature, which is in pencil, has been covered with lacquer, but Fredericks's countersignature, which is in ink,

has not been so covered. Further details on this part of the historic episode have been given by V. V. Shulgin, one of the two commissioners above named, as follows:]

When we had read and approved the Czar's abdication, it seems to me that there followed a clasping of hands, as if of a hearty character. However, at that time I was undoubtedly agitated, and may be mistaken. It is possible this did not happen. I recall that when at last I looked at my watch, it was 11:48. Therefore it is necessary to think that all these events of huge historical importance took place between 11 and 12 o'clock in the night of March 2-3, (15-16, new style.) I recollect that when this happened a thought flashed through my mind of how well it was that it came on March 2, and not on March 1. After that we said good-bye. It seems to me that there was no bad feeling on either side at that moment. In my soul there was rather pity toward the person who in that moment was redeeming his mistakes. Noble thoughts illuminated his resignation of power.

From external appearances, the Czar was entirely tranquil, and friendly rather than cold. I forgot to say that General Russky and I agreed that there should be two copies of the act signed by the maker's own hand, for the purpose of preserving it, since in the stormy situation at Petrograd, where we were taking it, it could easily be lost. In that situation the first signed act on the small pages ought to remain with General Russky. We then carried in the second copy, also written with a typewriter, but on large-sized sheets. The signature of the Czar, in the same way, on the right hand, was done with a pencil, and on the left side with a pen, and the Court Minister, Fredericks, countersigned it. On receiving this copy, which was intrusted to our care by General Russky, we, that is, Gutschkoff and myself, gave a receipt. That copy we brought to Petrograd and succeeded in giving it over into safe hands. There were moments when the document brought danger.

The Socialist Parties of Russia

What the Various Factions Stand For

AT the close of the nineteenth century the peasants of Russia formed a radical democratic organization, whose activities, naturally, remained clandestine. After the revolutionary events of 1904-5 there were created—or, rather, they officially declared their existence—certain peasant societies that were very important by reason of the number of their members. At the head of these bodies was the All-Russian Peasant Union, and, after the creation of the Duma, the Group of Toil. The programs of both were very much alike. While the Peasant Union, however, concentrated its energies upon organizing the peasants in a compact body with a view to seizing the lands of the nobles and distributing them among the peasants, the Group of Toil became the Parliamentary representative of the rural democracy. After the elections for the First Duma the committees of Deputies from the Group of Toil, in fact, took the place of the All-Russian Peasant Union, which had been broken up by Governmental repression after the defeat of the revolutionaries.

Kerensky, the present Premier, originally belonged to the Group of Toil, but his later activities in the Duma caused him to be classed with the moderates in the Social Revolutionary Party.

The program of the Group of Toil, established by the "populist intellectuals," proclaimed "the right of all citizens to the land, the suppression of private ownership of real estate, and the creation of a national estate of public lands." All persons desirous of cultivating the soil were to receive from this public estate allotments not exceeding the "norm of labor," that is, the amount of land which the user could cultivate with his own hands and those of his family, "without paid help." These allotments were to be given only for use, not for possession.

The Socialists in the towns, almost all

factory workmen, combated the program of the Group of Toil from the beginning. They reproached it with putting an obstacle in the way of all development of farm production, and declared that it rendered impossible the organization of great enterprises employing machinery and salaried workmen, creating not an equality of wealth, but an equality of poverty.

The Social Revolutionaries

The Social Revolutionary Party has numerous points of contact with the Group of Toil. Its Duma members, almost all men with the viewpoint of peasants, formerly figured in the Group of Toil, for the Social Revolutionary Party, which was not solidly organized before the Czar's abdication, had never been recognized by the Government.

On the agrarian question the Social Revolutionaries espouse the struggle against the bourgeois principle of property, taking their stand upon the communistic principle, upon Russian peasant traditions, and upon the opinion, very general among the people, that the land belongs to no one and that the right to enjoy its use is acquired only by working on it. This party also is fighting for the socialization of the land and for its exclusion from commercial exchange. Like the Group of Toil, they have faith in the realization of agrarian socialism; they establish an absolute antithesis between the middle-class principle of capitalistic society and the peasants' traditions of communistic life. They do not regard the *mir* and the whole organization of the rural Russian commune as a survival of the past, constituting a form inferior to the capitalistic system, but look upon it as the very foundation upon which to realize their ideal.

This conception has always been violently combated by the Social Democrats, who are convinced Marxists, believing that Russia cannot arrive at

socialism save by the path of capitalism, the path followed by all other countries of Europe; that the socialization of the means and tools of production on the farms will be possible only when conditions favorable to socialization shall exist in all the other domains of social economy; when production shall be strongly centralized, the differentiation of classes very marked, and labor freed from capital.

The principal leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party are Kerensky, the present Premier; Tchernoff, former Minister of Agriculture; Peshekhonoff, Food Administrator; Miakotine, Boukanoff, Avtsentieff, Savinkoff, (Robchine.) Since the revolution they have founded two newspapers, the *Dielo Naroda* at Petrograd and the *Zemlia i Volia* at Moscow.

The Social Democrats

The Social Democratic Party, very strongly organized, has as its adherents the working population of the great industrial centres and almost all the students. Its origin goes back to the end of the nineteenth century, when Russian industry began to experience a great expansion. The noted Russian Socialist, Plekhanoff, an adept in the theories of Marx, founded at Geneva in 1884 the Association for the Liberation of the Working Class, out of which came the first propagandists of socialistic ideas in Russia. These created in the Russian villages the most important of the secret societies that kept up communications with the central committee at Geneva.

As the existence of trade union organizations was then impossible, the leaders instituted a purely revolutionary propaganda. Owing to the general discontent with the autocratic régime, this propaganda was welcomed even by the liberal bourgeoisie, who were willing for the moment to sacrifice their class interests for the sake of triumphing in their political aims. The revolutionary movement of 1904-5 and the general strike which broke out in October, 1905, and which ultimately caused the promulgation of the constitutional manifesto of Oct. 30, 1905, were the work of this party. The leaders are divided into two factions, as follows:

Bolsheviki and Mensheviki

The Bolsheviks, or Maximalists, form the Left or radical wing of the Social Democratic Party, which is largely the party of the proletariat. The party split in 1906, and the ultra radicals, led by Nikolai Lenine, were then in the majority, or "bolshinstvo," and hence got the name Bolsheviks, which meant the majority faction. Today the Bolsheviks are also known as Maximalists, Leninites, Extremists, Zimmerwaldians, and Internationalists. They are opposed to offensive warfare, they want an immediate general peace, and seek to establish immediately the rule of the proletariat, the division of land, and the dispossession of the property classes. They are enemies of the present Provisional Government, even with a Constitution, and a large faction is extremely anarchistic in its views. They reject on principle any co-operation with legal organizations, and regard revolutionary action as alone effective. Nevertheless, two of their chiefs, Skobeleff and Tseretelli, by force of circumstances, accepted places in the Government, the former as Minister of Labor, the latter as Minister of the Interior. Their other leaders are Tscheidze, Lenine, Tschenkeli. Their organs, created since the revolution, are the Social Democrat at Moscow and the *Pravda* (Truth) at Petrograd, and Gorki's review, *Novaia Zhisn*, (New Life.)

The Mensheviki, or Minimalists, comprise the Right, or moderate elements of the proletarian Social Democratic Party. In the split of 1906 they were in the "menshinstvo," or minority, and became known as the Mensheviki or minority party. In contrast to the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviki believe in a compromise with the middle class, in the fullest prosecution of the war, and in gradual socialistic reforms. Though enemies of the present régime and not averse to revolutionary action, they admit the possibility of utilizing for their ends all the existing organizations — co-operative societies, trade unions, mutual aid funds, Parliamentary activity—and are declared advocates of the participation of working-men in the War Industries Committees, among which have been created groups

of workingmen with an autonomous organization. The chief leaders of the Minimalists or Mensheviki are Plekhanoff, Burtseff, Deutsch, Alexinsky. Their organs created since the revolution are—at Petrograd, the *Rabotchaia Gazeta* (Workingmen's Journal) and the *Edinstvo*, (Unity,) edited by Plekhanoff; at Moscow, the *Vpered*, (Forward!)

But the Bolsheviks are not all in the Social Democratic Party. The Social Revolutionary Party, which consists chiefly of peasants, also has its Bolshevik and Mensheviki factions. The Bolsheviks are the radical extremists of the party, who in the Summer of 1917 adopted the name Bolsheviks because they were largely in harmony with Lenin on the issues of the day. The Social Revolutionary Party is at present the strongest of Russia's socialistic organizations. The leader of its Bolsheviks is Gotz, and apparently also Victor Tchernoff, ex-Minister of Agriculture and an almost fanatical believer in the doctrine of communal ownership of all the land by the peasantry, to be distributed among them immediately.

There are also the Mensheviki of the Social Revolutionary Party, moderates, and the most nationalistic of the Socialist factions. Their leaders are Kerensky, Avtsentieff, "Babushka" Breshkorkaya. Like the Mensheviki of the Social Democratic Party, they favor a coalition Government, a compromise with the bourgeoisie, and active warfare against the enemy.

The Constitutional Democrats

To complete the tale of parties and factions, there should be a mention of the Constitutional Democrats, or Cadets, though they do not belong under the head of Socialists. The popular appellation "Cadets" is built of the initials of the party's real name, Constitutional Democrats. The leader of the party is Paul Milukoff, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Constitutional Democrats comprise all the bourgeois elements of the nation, the business and industrial interests as well as the landed and professional classes. They are sometimes called Progressives or Liberals. They stand for conservatism, nationalism, fullest prose-

cution of the war in co-operation with the Allies, and for the postponement of all internal reform till after the war. They are the solid and stable element of the country, and were in control at the time of the first organization of the Provisional Government, but have since been thrust into the background by the more radical and aggressive factions of the Socialist parties.

To sum up, the Group of Toil is a purely parliamentary organization composed of peasant Deputies, whose program is closely akin to that of the Constitutional Democrats, except on the agrarian question, where they hold absolutely to the principle of communistic ownership of the land. Russians do not consider this a really socialistic party.

The Revolutionary Socialists and the Social Democrats, on the contrary, are two purely socialistic parties, whose rivalry has long divided the intellectual youth of Russia into two warring camps. But theoretically, save on the agrarian question, both have a program almost always in common—a democratic republic, universal suffrage for both sexes, substitution of militia for the regular army, election of Judges, suppression of indirect taxes, an eight-hour day. The revolution, moreover, has brought about profound changes in the Socialist parties; it is noticeable that in recent events the Social Democratic Minimalists have almost always allied themselves with the moderate Social Revolutionaries to fight against the wild schemes of the Social Democratic Maximalists. In the Democratic Congress held at Petrograd at the beginning of October, 1917, the Cadets were absent, having boycotted the meeting, and the struggle over the question of a Coalition Government was wholly between the Bolsheviks of the two socialistic parties and the Mensheviki of the same two parties.

It may be added that the Soviet, or Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which has done much to create the present state of chaos, is an irregular, self-constituted body made up largely of peasants, workmen, and soldiers belonging to the two great Socialist parties, which represent the majority of the masses of the nation.

Air Raids and Reprisals

Thirty-four Attacks on London, Killing 865 and Wounding 2,500, Goad England to a Change of Policy

WAR in the air reached much greater ferocity in September and October, 1917, than ever before, and extensive preparations were begun by all the belligerents to speed up the manufacture of airplanes and to give this arm of the service a far greater importance than in the past.

During the full moon period between Sept. 24 and Oct. 1 there were six important air raids on London; 52 men, women and children were killed outright and 258 wounded. No material damage to military or munition establishments was inflicted; the only result accomplished was to arouse among the English people such a clamorous demand for reprisals that Premier Lloyd George announced to a crowd of poor people in the southwest district of London on Oct. 3:

"We will give it all back to them, and we will give it soon. We shall bomb Germany with compound interest."

General Smuts on Reprisals

On the same day Lieut. Gen. Smuts, speaking with the authority of a member of the War Cabinet, said the Government had been reluctantly forced by recent air raids on London and other English cities to apply the maxim of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and to carry out an air offensive on an unprecedented scale against German cities. General Smuts declared that the national temper instead of weakening was hardening under the strain of these terrors and abominations. He continued:

If the Germans understood the psychology of this people, they would have no doubt about the results. Cowards become more cowardly under threat of danger, but brave men and women only become more determined. And the people of London after these raids are thinking less of peace than ever before.

But the Germans never have understood the psychology of their enemies, and so they will continue to blunder to the end of the chapter. It is wrong to think that we hitherto have had no means of carry-

ing our aerial warfare into the enemy country. I already have said that ever since the battle of the Somme we have had a clear military superiority in the air, and on a small scale we could have followed that up by bombing enemy centres as the enemy bombed London and other places in this country. But we felt that we should prepare for an air offensive on a large scale, and we were also anxious to avoid adding further horrors to a war already the most cruel in the history of the world.

But we are dealing with an enemy whose culture has not carried him beyond the rudiments of the Mosaic law, and to whom you can only apply the maxim of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." On that principle we are now most reluctantly forced to apply to him the bombing policy which he has applied to us. I am afraid we no longer have any choice in the matter.

Last month our naval and military airplanes dropped 207 tons of bombs behind the lines of the enemy. In the same period he dropped four and one-half tons of bombs on London. In that month we bombed him on twenty-three days and on nineteen nights, chiefly attacking his airdromes, and, as the figures show, damaging his machines and pitting his airdromes with shell holes. We also bombed his billets, trains, transport and railway stations, causing him the heaviest losses.

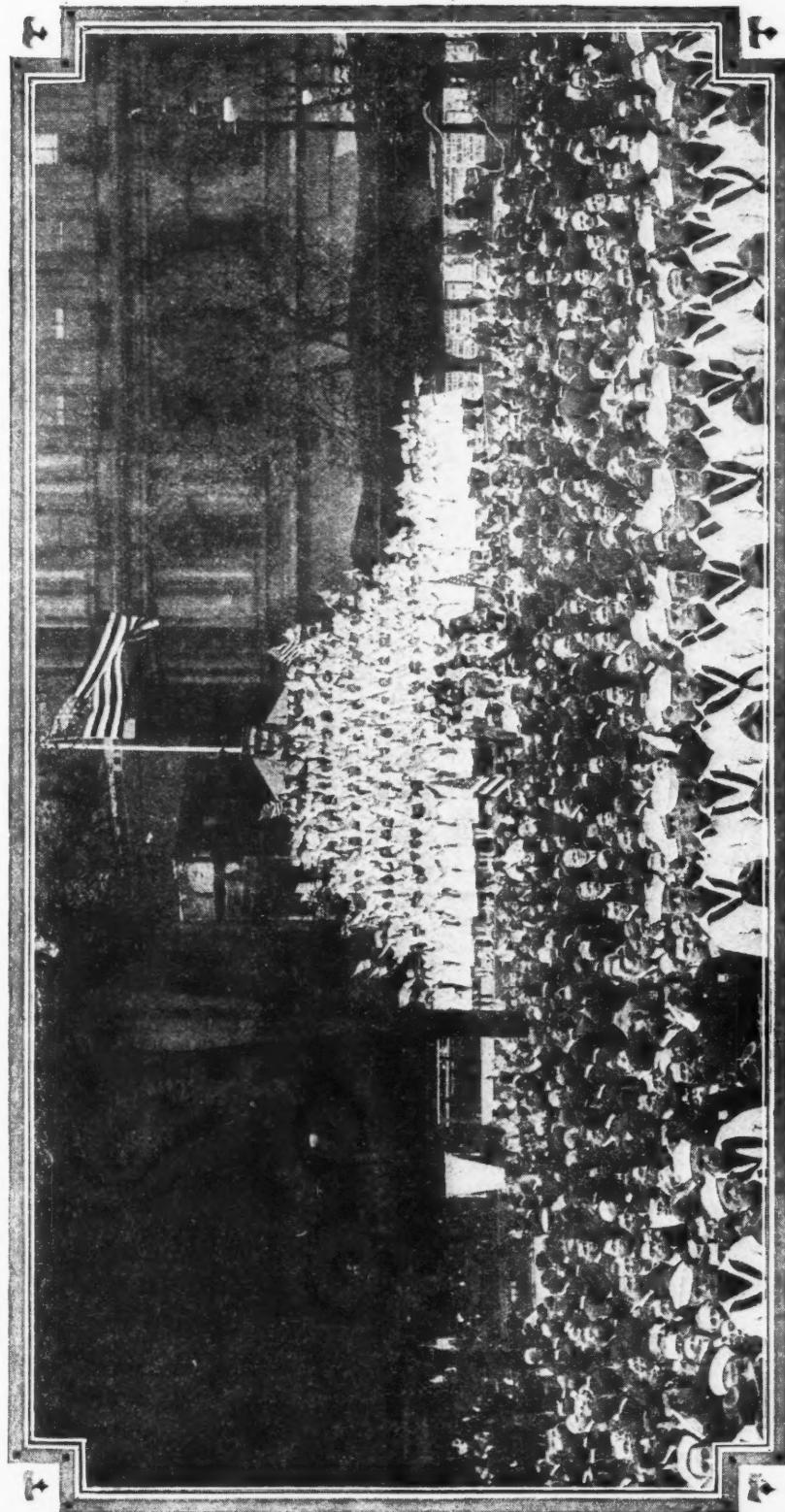
Another Chapter of Horrors

Allow me to emphasize two points which I hope will be borne in mind when it is ultimately found that my words are not bluff, but serious and far-reaching in their import.

First, we did not begin this business of bombing industrial and populous districts. The enemy began the practice, just as he began the use of poison gas and other contraventions of international law. And we have been most reluctantly forced to follow suit after a long delay, which severely tried the patience of the British public.

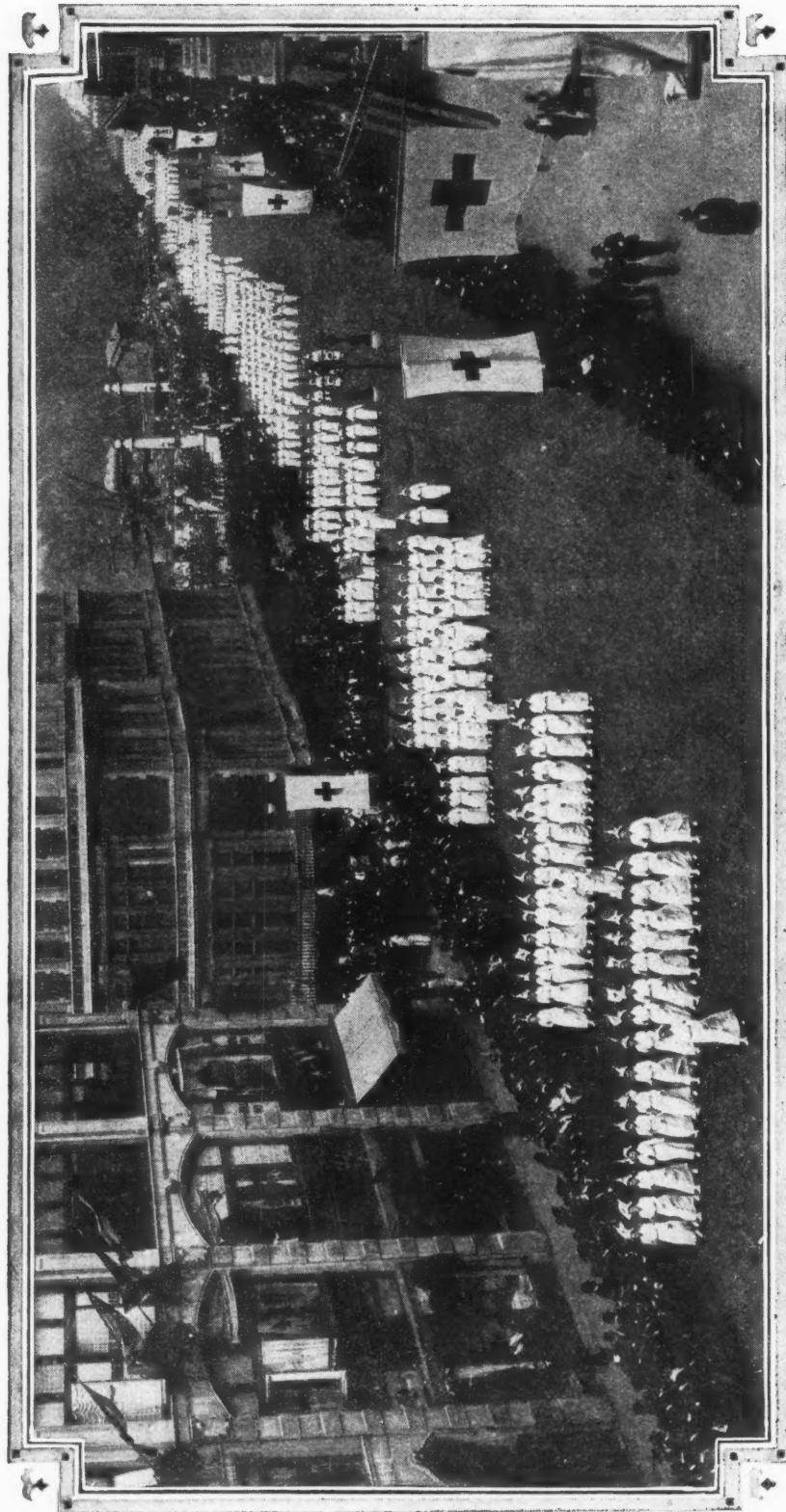
Secondly, I look upon these developments of the arts of war as utterly bad and immoral, and while I do not fear them if, as in the present case, they are forced on us, yet I should infinitely prefer that both sides should desert such cruel practices. We shall do our best to avoid German abominations, and in our air offensive against military and industrial

MAKING THE SECOND LIBERTY LOAN A SUCCESS



(Photo Paul Thompson)
A Great Demonstration, in Connection with the Second Liberty Loan Campaign, Outside the City Hall, New York City

IN HONOR OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS



(Photo Paul Thompson)

The Great Farewell Parade in New York City of the American Red Cross Women and Men Who Are Serving in Hospitals Abroad

centres of the enemy we shall use every endeavor to spare, as far as is humanly possible, the innocent and defenseless who in the past enjoyed the protection of international law.

It is almost unbearable to think that another chapter of horrors must be added to the awful story, but we can only plead that it has not been our doing, and the blame must rest on an enemy who apparently recognizes no laws, human or Divine; who knows no pity or restraint, who sang te deums over the sinking of the Lusitania and to whom the maiming and slaughter of women and children appear legitimate means of warfare.

In the face of such abominations it is not for us to meekly fold our hands. We can only fight to the uttermost for the ideals of a more human civilization, which we trust and feel convinced will triumph in the end.

Early in October France began a series of air raids on German cities in reprisal for raids on the French cities of Bar-le-Duc and Dunkirk. Bombs were dropped upon Stuttgart, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Rastatt, Baden Baden, Dortmund, Türringen, and other cities.

Air Raids on London

German aircraft raided England thirty-four times between Jan. 19, 1915, and Oct. 1, 1917, killing outright 865 men, women, and children, and wounding over 2,500. The list of the principal raids is as follows:

1915	Killed	Injured
Jan. 19	4	..
May 31	6	..
June 6	24	..
June 15	16	..
Aug. 9	14	..
Aug. 12	6	..
Aug. 17	10	..
Sept. 7	13	..
Sept. 8	20	..
Oct. 13	56	144
1916		
Jan. 31	61	101
March 15	12	33
March 31	43	66
April 1	16	100
May 2	36	..
Aug. 9	6	17
Aug. 24	8	36
Sept. 2	2	13
Sept. 23	38	125
Sept. 24	36	27
1917		
May 24	76	174
June 5	2	29
June 13	97	439
July 4	11	36

1917	Killed	Injured
July 7	37	141
July 22	11	26
Aug. 12	32	43
Aug. 22	11	13
Sept. 3	108	92
Sept. 24	15	70
Sept. 25	7	26
Sept. 28	11	82
Sept. 30	9	42
Oct. 1	10	38

Scenes During a Raid

The scenes in London during an air raid are full of thrilling interest. Three years' experience with such perils have hardened the public, and panic no longer is shown. A correspondent thus describes the scenes during the raid of Sept. 26 on London:

"The lesson of the advisability of seeking cover quickly has obviously been taken to heart, and the great majority of people sought the nearest available shelter directly the louder sound of the guns indicated the closer approach of the raiders. Tube stations were favorite resorts in the fortunate neighborhoods where they were to be found, and crowds of people were grateful to the railwaymen, policemen, and "specials" who shepherded them to the safe depths.

"Every station was packed with orderly crowds. At first the booking-office floors, the first to be reached from the street level, proved the most popular sections of the stations, but as the firing came nearer people sought the more secure protection of the platforms and corridors.

"Churches also were opened to the public for shelter, and here large numbers sought refuge, particularly at those which were known to have crypts and underground spaces. In some cases a red lamp burning outside warned the public that shelter could be found within. Public buildings of all kinds which were stout enough to offer some resistance to possible bombs had open doors, and caretakers and others of the staffs in many of the great blocks of offices and business premises were also quick in their offers to share their greater safety with any who sought it.

"For some time the buses and taxi-cabs continued to run, although there was a noticeable air of hurry about those

speeding westward from the more exposed areas in the east. In a few cases drivers refused to stop to pick up would-be passengers. In several instances there were passages of arms between drivers and the more considerate conductresses.

"As the firing grew heavier, however, and the flash of the bursting shells could be seen clearly in the neighborhood, drivers and fares of both taxis and buses left the vehicles to seek shelter, and soon the main streets presented a curious appearance, with few pedestrians, and with long rows of lightless and deserted vehicles lined up by the curbs. But within two or three minutes only of the last reports, drivers and conductresses were again mounting the buses, and there was no lack of passengers to accompany them on the resumed journeys.

"Before the raid the police were out with 'Take cover' notices, some cycling through the streets and others patrolling with the placards, a number of which were attached to the posts of central refuges.

"There was no surprise, no scare, no panic. Folk had told each other what might be expected on a moonlight night, and they took the handiest cover with cheery confidence in its effectiveness. Tube subways were specially useful. Men, women, and children—not many children, by the way—flocked down the steps to these places, and quietly waited until danger was over. Men read their evening papers; city girls who had been working late became absorbed in their favorite novels, with which they beguile traveling time in tram and train; and the woman inclined to be tearful or nervous was reassured by comforting words from her neighbors."

Tragedy at a Hotel

Another correspondent describes the effect of a bomb falling in front of a hotel as follows:

"A number of guests are reported to have gathered in the porch to watch the progress of the raid. A bomb dropped close to the main entrance, almost on the pavement, killing several of those who stood near. The concussion of the explosion was terrific. Three porters of the hotel, two of whom were just going off

duty, and all of whom were outside the building, were killed instantly. Three other people, it is said, who were in the roadway also were killed outright, and a gentleman and a lady who were standing in a doorway opposite also were killed.

"Great bravery was shown by a number of persons in this hotel, and one man who was badly injured himself was most assiduous in helping others. A doctor, whose head was cut, and hastily bandaged, performed his humane work with great energy. Several persons were passing at the time, and eight of the passers-by are stated to be among the injured, bringing the total, with those who suffered in the hotel, up to fifteen. The bomb made a hole in the roadway some four feet deep, the force of the explosion blowing out all the windows in front of the building, even to the sixth story, and shattering the glass in most of the houses on either side of the street for several hundred yards.

"In another area one bomb dropped on a six-floor tenement house, totally destroying the upper portions of the building. A lad of 15 years lost his life under very pathetic circumstances. When the alarm was given, the people in the tenements ran into the cellar of a neighboring public house, which had been thrown open by the proprietor. This lad was in safety in the cellar, when he rushed back into the danger zone to join his aged grandfather, who was bedridden in the tenement. He had just arrived when the bomb dropped. A beam fell and struck him on the temple, apparently killing him instantly. He was found lying underneath the beam. His grandfather was seriously injured, and was taken in an ambulance to the hospital."

In a Narrow Street

The havoc wrought by one airplane in a narrow street is thus described:

"The noise of gunfire was the first warning which the people of the district received, and but for the fact that sufficient time passed before the sudden terror of the bombing to enable the majority of the inhabitants to take shelter, the casualty list must have been far larger than it actually was. The air-

plane flew in an oblique direction across the many intersecting streets, and bombs were dropped at distances of about two hundred yards apart.

"The first bomb fell in a street. A moment later the second crashed into the side of another road with destructive effect. A great hole was scooped out in the ground. The fronts of two-story houses opposite were partially shattered, and in most of the other houses in the street glass was smashed, woodwork hurled inward, and the contents of rooms displaced.

"A girl was just entering the doorway of a house near the explosion and she was killed instantly. On the other side of the street a man standing in his doorway was terribly wounded about the upper part of his body, and another man who was leaning against the front garden fence also received severe injuries. Nearly all the other people in this street were under cover, and they escaped physical harm. A man and his wife, who were just going into the cellar when the bomb exploded, were flung headlong down the steps.

"The third bomb fell in a back garden against a party wall between two streets, and it dug a huge crater in the soft earth. The backs of two houses were partially blown in, but fortunately the inhabitants had left two minutes earlier to take shelter in a neighbor's house, in which the only damage was broken glass. Other houses were less seriously damaged, and because the tenants had taken shelter in the centre of the buildings only one girl was seriously injured.

"The fourth bomb caused more material damage, but nearly all the people in the street had left their little houses to find refuge in a school building forty or fifty yards away. The bomb fell in a back yard near the middle of a row of houses, and the rooms just opposite were almost completely wrecked. If any one had been within he could not conceivably have escaped unhurt. All along the street, on both sides, windows and doorways were blown out, and a bank and a jeweler's shop were damaged.

"The special volunteer policemen, who have been assisting the regular police

since the beginning of the war, in emergencies, are receiving shrapnel helmets for protection during air raids. These helmets are similar to those worn in the trenches and hereafter will be a common sight in London. Soldiers on leave and ambulance drivers only have heretofore used them during raids."

Effects of the Raids

The change of opinion in England from composure over the raids to a demand for reprisals is traceable to a realization that while the material damage from raids is negligible, they did succeed in diverting considerable pressure which otherwise would have been felt on the battle fronts. By the employment of some fifty machines and at the most two hundred men, including aviators and mechanics, the enemy has forced England to detach several hundred valuable guns and several thousand men, including skilled gunners, for home defense, and also a large number of machinists, searchlights with operating staffs and other experts. The number of men and the amount of material devoted to this offensive are small compared with the men and material these attacks compel England to maintain for the defensive.

Local and suburban travel has been largely at a standstill during these periods, and all classes of night work have been interfered with, while the day work has been curtailed that clerks and workmen might get to their homes from offices, factories and shops before the expected raids began. Ten thousand persons who are not compelled to remain in London have moved to country resorts at a large aggregate expense, and the late afternoon trains have been packed with the nightly exodus. Many poor families have camped in suburban parks and commons.

Death of Guynemer

Captain Georges Guynemer, officially credited with destroying fifty-three German airplanes, known as "King of the Aces," (an "ace" is an aviator who has brought down five enemy aircraft,) met his death shortly after leaving Dunkirk Sept. 11. He was only 23 years old, son of a manufacturer who had been a Captain in the French Army. He was

rejected as a private on account of frail health five times and at length was allowed to enlist as a student aviator. Three weeks after he received his pilot's license in January, 1916, he brought down his fifth enemy airplane, and thereafter every few days some new heroic feat was credited to him. His most spectacular feat, for which he was made a Lieutenant and decorated with the Cross of War, was on Sept. 29 last year, when he rose in the air to defend a comrade of his escadrille who had been attacked by five German Fokkers.

At a height of more than 10,000 feet Captain Guynemer shot and dropped two of the Germans within thirty seconds of each other. He then pursued the three others, and in two minutes had shot down his third enemy machine. He was pursuing the remaining two Fokkers when an enemy shell exploded under his airplane and tore away one wing.

"I felt myself dropping," he said later. "It was 10,000 feet to the earth, and, like a flash, I saw my funeral with my saddened comrades marching behind the gun carriage to the cemetery. But I pulled and pushed every lever I had, but nothing would check my terrific descent.

"Five thousand feet from the earth the wrecked machine began to turn somersaults, but I was strapped into the seat. I do not know what it was, but something happened and I felt the speed descent lessen. But suddenly there was a tremendous crash and when I recovered my senses I had been taken from the wreckage and was all right."

Three times Captain Guynemer was wounded in battle, but each time slightly. In one day he was officially credited with shooting down four enemy aeroplanes, which was the record, as was his feat of dropping the three Fokkers in two minutes and thirty seconds when he himself dropped 10,000 feet.

Aside from that fall, the nearest he was to death, he always believed, was when his machine was disabled by shell fire and it fell with him in No Man's Land, between the French and German trenches. The Germans opened a galling machine-gun fire to prevent his escape, but the French went "over the top"

and in a sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict he was rescued.

Captain Guynemer was always alone in his airplane. He used the lightest craft that would carry sufficient gasoline and a machine gun with ammunition. To him gasoline and ammunition were more valuable than a gunner. The machine gun was attached to the top of the airplane, directly above his head, and was so arranged that when he pulled a lever the gun would be discharged. As the gun was fast to the airplane, he had to point his airplane at the enemy. Sights were arranged in front of him, so that when the enemy came within the sights he pulled the gun lever and it would begin firing.

For his exploits in the air Captain Guynemer won the Cross of the Legion of Honor, the Military Medal, the War Cross and nearly every other honor his grateful country could bestow.

How He Met His Death

Guynemer's last fight is described by a comrade, who is quoted by *Excelsior* as follows:

"Guynemer sighted five machines of the Albatross type D-3. Without hesitating he bore down on them. At that moment enemy patrolling machines, soaring at a great height, appeared suddenly and fell upon Guynemer.

"There were forty enemy machines in the air at this time, including Count von Richthofen and his circus division of machines, painted in diagonal blue and white stripes. Toward Guynemer's right some Belgian machines hove in sight, but it was too late.

"Guynemer must have been hit. His machine dropped gently toward the earth and I lost track of it. All that I can say is that the machine was not on fire."

Airplane Activity

The French War Ministry announced on Oct. 12 that in September French aviators destroyed sixty-seven German airplanes and two observation balloons, forced eighty machines to land badly damaged, and made 1,099 bombing raids in which more than 165 tons of explosives were dropped within the German lines.

In September the allied aviators of the

French, British, Italian, and Russian armies dropped more than 500 tons of explosives upon enemy camps and cities. Several of the most noted German aces were killed in aerial combats.

The United States has appropriated \$640,000,000 for the construction of aircraft, and contracts for more than 20,000 airplanes have been let.

German Figures

The *Berliner Tageblatt*, with the caution that its figures are not "absolutely trustworthy," gives the following statement of air warfare:

Airplanes Shot Down.		
	German.	Enemy.
1914	—	9
1915	91	131
1916	221	784
1917 (to end of July)	370	1,374

From Aug. 1, 1914, to July 31, 1915, 72 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 39 fell into German hands; from Aug. 1, 1915, to July 31, 1916, 455 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 267 fell into German hands; from Aug. 1, 1916, to July 31, 1917, "about" 1,771 enemy airplanes were shot down, of which 776 fell into German hands.

In 1915 two enemy captive balloons, so far as is known, were shot down; in 1916, 42; in 1917 to Aug. 1, 142. Three enemy airships were also shot down.

Total aircraft shot down from Aug. 1, 1914, to Aug. 1, 1917, about 2,298 enemy and 682 German airplanes, 186 enemy captive balloons, and 3 airships.

The *London Times* took strong exception to these figures, replying as follows:

The *Paris Matin*, whose authority is at least as high on the one side as that of the *Berliner Tageblatt* is on the other, stated on Jan. 1, 1917, that the French brought down 450 German machines in 1916 and the British 250. This figure of 700 compares with the German admission of 221. There is confirmation of this unofficial estimate in the table compiled from the statements in the official communiqués of British and French Headquarters which appeared in *The Times* of Dec. 5, 1916, and which showed that, for the six months June to November in that year, 666 German machines were brought, shot, or driven down by the Allies. If we take the year 1917 as it is calculated by the *Tageblatt*—Aug. 1, 1916, to July 31, 1917—the official British and French figures show that 2,076 German machines were sent down—1,325 by the British, 751 by the French. It is not pretended that all these were destroyed, but if we take, merely for May, June, and July, those which were officially stated to have crashed, to have been destroyed, brought down in flames, shot down by gunfire, or captured, we get, instead of the *Tageblatt's* figure of 370 for the whole year, 523 for three months.



—Dallas News.
Who Can Blame Him?

Revelations of German Plots

Von Igel's Captured Papers Disclose Bernstorff's Illegal Intrigues in the United States

The State Department at Washington in late September and early October, 1917, made public through the Committee on Public Information a series of secret German papers which had been captured a year and a half earlier from Wolf von Igel, German propaganda agent, and which reveals portions of the vast system of criminal plots carried on in this country with the knowledge and active assistance of Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington. The narrative printed below is based on that of the Official Bulletin.

AT the time in the Fall of 1914 when the German plots against Canada were fomenting in this country there was established at 60 Wall Street, New York, an "advertising" office presided over by a large, suave man of Teutonic aspect named Wolf von Igel. There were two peculiar features about this office. One was that it was frequented during two years of singularly quiet and unbusinesslike existence chiefly by Germans who had nothing whatsoever to do with advertising. The other was a large safe, bearing the insignia of the German Imperial Government.

To this office there came one morning in April, 1916, while von Igel was preparing a mass of papers which he had taken from the safe for transfer to the German Embassy in Washington, four United States Secret Service agents from the Department of Justice, who made their way past the guardians always on duty, put von Igel under arrest, and undertook to seize the papers. The German was powerful and brave. With the aid of one associate he stubbornly fought the officers, striving to rescue the papers, to close the safe, to get to the telephone and communicate with his superiors. Revolvers were drawn by the Secret Service men. They produced no effect upon the intrepid von Igel.

"This is German territory," he shouted. "Shoot me and you will bring on war."

German Embassy Protests

There was no shooting. But after a protracted struggle the defenders were overpowered and the papers seized. The

German Embassy at once entered its protest. These were official papers. They were sacrosanct. The diplomatic prerogative of a friendly nation had been overridden and the person of its representative insulted. To this the State Department replied that the invaded premises at 60 Wall Street were described in the contract as a private business office for the carrying on of advertising, and that von Igel had not been formally accredited as a German representative.

When the papers were examined by the Department of Justice the reason for von Igel's determined fight became apparent. Here, in the form of letters, telegrams, notations, checks, receipts, ledgers, cashbooks, cipher codes, lists of spies, and other memoranda and records were found indications—in some instances of the vaguest nature, in others of the most damning conclusiveness—that the German Imperial Government, through its representatives in a then friendly nation, was concerned with—

Violation of the laws of the United States.

Destruction of lives and property in merchant vessels on the high seas.

Irish revolutionary plots against Great Britain.

Fomenting ill-feeling against the United States in Mexico.

Subornation of American writers and lecturers.

Financing of propaganda.

Maintenance of a spy system under the guise of a commercial investigation bureau.

Subsidizing of a bureau for the purpose of stirring up labor troubles in munition plants.

The bomb industry and other related activities.

German Ambassador Alarmed

From the moment of the seizure of these papers Count von Bernstorff realized that his position was in danger; but the revelation of their contents was delayed, and his activities continued, as shown by telegrams that come into the later phases of the present story.

During the early stages of the war Bernstorff contented himself with the establishment of a great secret service in this country, coupled with a machine for propagating anti-British sentiment. When the United States and Great Britain were involved in dispute over British methods of seizing American shipping bound for Germany, Bernstorff by every means possible focused attention upon the injustice of the allied cause. When this policy failed, Bernstorff, acting by agents throughout the country, sought to cripple American industry which was helping the allied war machine. During this period he carefully avoided becoming directly involved in the crimes. He established von Papen, Boy-Ed, Wolf von Igel, and Dr. Albert in New York, where they kept far enough from him to clear his official skirts. Then von Igel became the leader of the dynamite men working with Boy-Ed and von Papen. Finally von Igel was caught red-handed. Bernstorff was invited by Secretary Lansing to go to the State Department and claim such papers as he regarded as official, but he did not go, knowing that they incriminated the embassy itself.

Placing Bombs on Vessels

One of the most significant papers in the von Igel collection is a letter of July 20, 1915, written upon the stationery of the Bureau of Investigation. This innocent-pretending agency was at the outset the secret service of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company. Under Paul König, its manager, it became an adjunct to the German diplomatic secret service. "XXX" is the secret designation of König, who is now under indictments on criminal charges in connection with his "diplomatic" work, and is interned at Fort Oglethorpe. The person represented by the figure "7000" is Captain von Papen, former Military Attaché

of the German Embassy and the practical executive of its underground system. The document describes the subterfuges of "XXX" (König) so that he might not be identified by the mysterious — when they met. "XXX" states that money was to be drawn for the payment of \$150 to the unnamed person, under peculiar precautions, through "Check No. 146 on the Riggs National Bank, Washington, dated July 16, payable to —, signed —, amount \$150. No reason was given as to why the payment was made," says the report.

Several days after the payment the recipient called at the "passenger office of the — Line" and made a statement, which is thus embodied in the XXX report:

My name is —. I have an office at the — building, but I do not care to state my local address. I intend to cause serious damage to vessels of the Allies leaving ports of the United States by placing bombs, which I am making myself, on board. These bombs resemble ordinary lumps of coal, and I am planning to have them concealed in the coal to be laden on steamers of the Allies.

Brought Sample Bomb

Finally XXX states that "the caller" brought with him a sample bomb, "such as has been described to you by the subscriber," and asks for the instructions.

The document is lettered at the foot, "O. R. to 7000," indicating that the secret agent known as "O. R." had transmitted it to von Papen.

Now for the proof, direct and unescapable. Check 146 on the Riggs National Bank has been traced and added to the Secret Service collection. It is payable to König and signed by von Papen. Therefore, von Papen stands convicted, on the evidence of a report claimed as an official document by the Germans, of paying money to a plotter designing to blow up merchant ships sailing from the Port of New York.

Three members of the gang of plotters who received thousands of dollars for distributing the bombs which sank thirty ships carrying munitions to the Allies in 1915 were arrested in New York Oct. 10, 1917, and are now held for trial. The evidence against them was found in von Igel's papers.

Compare the foregoing facts with the following authorized statement from Berlin, transmitted by wireless for publication in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* in December, 1915:

The German Government has, naturally, never knowingly accepted the support of any person, group of persons, society, or organization seeking to promote the cause of Germany in the United States by illegal acts, by counsel of violence, by contravention of law, or by any means whatever that could offend the American people in the pride of their own authority.

Making Trouble in Factories

Closely related to and to some extent under the guidance of von Igel was the German and Austro-Hungarian Labor Information and Relief Bureau, with central headquarters at 136 Liberty Street, New York City, and branches in Cleveland, Detroit, Bridgeport, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The head of the enterprise was Hans Liebau, from whom it took its familiarly accepted name of the "Liebau Employment Agency." During the trying days which followed the arrest of the Welland Canal conspirators it was unwaveringly asserted that the Liebau concern was a bona fide employment agency and nothing else, with no object other than to secure positions for German, Austrian, or Hungarian workmen seeking employment. That was for publication only. In von Igel's papers the truth appears, brought out by the refusal of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy to continue its subsidies to the bureau.

That the Austro-Hungarian Embassy had taken official cognizance of the bureau previously, however, is disclosed in the letter written by the Ambassador to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, which was found in the possession of James F. J. Archibald by the British authorities Aug. 30, 1915. In this letter the Ambassador stated:

It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which, in the opinion of the German Military Attaché, is of importance and amply outweighs the comparatively small expenditure of money involved; but even if the strikes do not come off, it is probable that we should extort, under pressure of cir-

cumstances, more favorable conditions of labor for our poor, downtrodden fellow-countrymen. So far as German workmen are found in the skilled hands, means of leaving will be provided immediately for them. Besides this, a private German employment office has been established which provides employment for persons who have voluntarily given up their places, and it is already working well. We shall also join in, and the widest support is assured us.

Letter to Count Bernstorff

The following representations on behalf of the bureau's efficiency were made, under date of March 24, 1916, in a letter to the German Ambassador, von Bernstorff:

Engineers and persons in the better class of positions, and who had means of their own, were persuaded by the propaganda of the bureau to leave war material factories.

The report comments with unconcealed amusement upon the fact that munitions concerns innocently wrote the bureau for workmen (which, of course, were not furnished) and continues in reviewing later conditions in the munitions industry:

The commercial employment bureaus of the country have no supply of unemployed technicians. * * * Many disturbances and suspensions which war material factories have had to suffer, and which it was not always possible to remove quickly, but which on the contrary often lead to long strikes, may be attributed to the energetic propaganda of the employment bureau.

Von Igel's close connection with the enterprise is indicated by a number of items. For example, there is the notation that H. Hanson had established a Liebau branch office in Detroit, and an entry of £12 paid to Dr. Max Niven, Chicago, in February, 1916, for the "labour fund," and an inquiry, addressed by a bureau official to von Igel, asking whether the Bosch Magneto Works manufactured fuses for shells, the bureau having evidently been applied to for workmen for the Bosch plant. A reply in the negative stated that the company is "universally known for its friendly attitude toward Germans."

Several lines of communication between the German Diplomatic Service and the Irish revolutionary movement are in-

dicated in the captured documents. John Devoy of New York City, now editor of *The Gaelic American*, was one of the active agents of this connection. Significant entries appear here and there; references to messages from the German Embassy at Washington and the German Consulate at New York; mention of a secret code to be employed in communicating with him and of a "cipher Devoy"; also a notation, the details of which remain undiscovered, concerning "communication re manufacture hand grenades." Devoy it was who acted, for a time at least, as go-between for the German Secret Service dealings with Sir Roger Casement, executed by the British for treason. There are several references to money and messages for Sir Roger Casement, or, more briefly, "R. C." and one record of a check for \$1,000 for Casement, evidently handled by Devoy.

Devoy's intimate connection with the German cause is disclosed in two letters to Ambassador von Bernstorff, the text of which follows:

New York, April 8, 1916.

The following communication from confidential man John Devoy was duly transmitted:

"Letter dated March 22, delayed by censor, seems conclusive that first messenger arrived safe with proposal to send supplies and that cable was suppressed. Second also safe. Third, with change of plans, due about April 15."

John Devoy further requests that the following telegram be dispatched to Sir Roger Casement:

"No letter now possible. All funds sent home. Sister and M.'s family well."

Should Sir Roger be absent or ill, then J. D. requests that the telegram be delivered to John Montieh.

(Signed) K. N. St.
To His Excellency the Imperial Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C.

New York, April 15, 1916.

Herewith inclosed a — report received by us today from John Devoy. Kindly order further steps to be taken.

The important parts of the report were sent there today per telegram. (S. copy.)

(Signed) K. N. St.
To the Imperial Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, Washington, D. C.

Though this incriminating evidence was in its possession, the Department of Justice has refuted the charge that it told the British Government of the Irish

revolutionary plot and Casement's part in it. Department of Justice officials admit that the papers relating to Casement were sent to Washington the night before Casement's arrest was reported, but they were not received by the Attorney General until the afternoon of the day upon which the British authorities picked up the Irish leader, and were not presented to the State Department until 7 o'clock that evening. Meanwhile, Casement had spent several hours in an Irish prison.

Justice Cohalan Involved

It is not improbable that the signature at the bottom of the extraordinary message which follows is in the "cipher Devoy" referred to in the von Igel papers. New York Supreme Court Justice Daniel F. Cohalan has long been prominent in Irish-American circles. The communication as translated into von Igel's record is typewritten, line for line, below a cipher, except for the signature, which remains untranslated from the original cipher figures. It is dated New York, April 17, 1916, numbered 335-16, and inscribed at the top "Very Secret."

No. 335-16.

Very secret.

New York, April 17, 1916.

Judge Cohalan requests the transmission of the following remarks:

"The revolution in Ireland can only be successful if supported from Germany, otherwise England will be able to suppress it, even though it be only after hard struggles. Therefore help is necessary. This should consist, primarily, of aerial attacks in England and a diversion of the fleet simultaneously with Irish revolution. Then, if possible, a landing of troops, arms, and ammunition in Ireland, and possibly some officers from Zeppelins. This would enable the Irish ports be closed against England and the establishment of stations for submarines on the Irish coast and the cutting off of the supply of food for England. The services of the revolution may therefore decide the war."

He asks that a telegram to this effect be sent to Berlin.

5132 8167 0230.
To His Excellency Count von Bernstorff,
Imperial Ambassador, Washington,
D. C.

Along this same line is a code message by wireless to Banker Max Moebius, Oberwallstrasse, Berlin, which is inter-

esting chiefly as showing the code method of important communications practiced by the German official plotters in the United States. The code translation was found with a copy of the message among the von Igel papers. The original is a dispatch in German, which, translated into English, sounds like an innocent business transaction, viz.:

National Germania insurance contract certainly promised. Executor is evidently satisfied with proposition. Necessary steps have been taken. HENRY NEUMAN.

But it is not so innocent and harmless as it looks, for what the message really means is this: "The Irish agree to the proposition."

Plots in Canada

Canada was also the object of solicitous interest on the part of Germany's representatives in the United States, as is startlingly proved in the plot to blow up the Welland Canal. Another lesser but not unpromising enterprise against Canada was foregone by von Igel because the volunteer plotter was too old, "though he has the best good will," and also because of his known connection with the Gaelic-American and Indian revolutionists. Such is the indorsement upon the letter signed only "X" by one who thus sets forth his qualifications for fomenting disorders in Quebec:

As Honorary President of the first Independence Club started in Montreal about the time of the Boer war, and of which the Hon. Honoré Mercier, now Minister for Colonization in the Government of the Province of Quebec, was one of the Vice Presidents and later President, I am well known among the members and journalists of that organization. * * * There is now in place of the Independence Club a secret society based upon its principles, aiming at the total separation of Canada from the British Empire. * * * It includes all the former members of the Independence Club and men high in Canadian political life. The adherents are, for the most part, French and Irish Canadians.

Mexican Intrigues

The information carefully and extensively set forth in the secret documents of German officialdom was something wide of the facts. For example, a long memorandum on March 1, 1916, transmitted by the secret agent Captain

Böhm, dealing with the Mexican crisis, appears to have been largely the work of some fervid and projective imagination. The memorandum purports to outline President Wilson's expected message to Congress. It predicts that the President will attribute Mexico's anti-American activities directly to German money and incitement; that he will call upon Congress to support him in radical measures, (the prophet even attempts to paraphrase the language to be employed in the message,) and that Congress will indorse the President's stand, following which upward of 150 German spies and *agents provocateurs* were to be arrested and the Ambassadors of the Central Powers to receive their passports. For all this Captain Böhm's authority is thus indicated over his own signature:

The foregoing memorandum has just been given me by an acquaintance returning from Washington. This acquaintance is a skillful journalist who has good connections. I cannot vouch for his reliability, but I know he hates the present Administration and fights it. His informant is a former Secretary of the American Embassy in Rome, now in Washington.

Captain Böhm himself was too loose of tongue for the good of his service, as would appear from a report by the German Military Information Bureau, dated March 21, 1916. Captain Böhm decided to leave "after the reports received here were submitted to him, to the effect that members of the press were informed as to his personality and the purpose of his being here. Too great confidence in the silence of his henchmen, especially the members of the American Truth Society, * * * was probably the cause of his becoming quickly known here."

Thus the American Truth Society, which has so strenuously denied its pro-German associations, figures as indirectly linked up with Germany's secret representative. This society is still extant, and Jeremiah A. O'Leary, its moving spirit, is now editor of Bull, recently shut out from the mails for publishing seditious matter.

Of more direct military interest to the United States is an espionage enterprise hinted at in a secret code message of April 11, 1916, signed "13232, 46729,

46919," addressing von Igel to this effect:

Herewith respectfully send extract regarding troops stationed California and armament coast fortifications.

Magazine Writers Involved

Journalists, lecturers, and publishers were liberally employed by von Igel and his associates for the purposes of German propaganda. Among those are two magazine writers and war correspondents, James F. J. Archibald, now in Washington, and Edwin Emerson, said to be in Africa. The following curious entry appears in von Igel's official records:

PURE WAR EXPENSES	
Edwin Emerson	\$1,000
Fair Play (Mr. Braun)	\$2,000
Fair Play (" ")	\$1,500
Marcus Braun	\$1,000
J. Archibald	\$5,000

Concerning the identity of the last entry, says the Official Bulletin, there might be room for doubt but for a signed receipt from J. F. J. Archibald acknowledging the sum of \$5,000 from the German Embassy. What return Archibald ever made in service is not clear, except that certain war correspondence for which he contracted with New York newspapers was so obviously prejudiced on the side of the Central Powers that they declined to accept it.

Fair Play appears to have received in all \$4,500 in the course of a few months in 1915. Marcus Braun figures as its editor.

All these, it must be remembered, are but a small portion of one German agent's records. They represent but one chamber, as it were, in an enormous and complicated maze of underground plotting. Other entries appear too vague to indicate anything more definite than some connection with or interest in enterprises already notorious—payments to the Welland Canal conspiracy; references to the Maverick and the Annie Larsen, blockade runners; side lights on Japanese propaganda, Mexican plots and Canadian lines of secret information; even hints that officers high in the military service of the United States were being improperly used for German military enterprises.

How far the plot goes will probably never be known. The spider, von Igel, had scuttled away to his own refuge in Germany. His nest is destroyed. But the strands of the web that he wove may still stretch over many parts of the United States.

Bernstorff Himself a Plotter

The most sensational of the revelations of German plotting in the United States was made by Secretary Lansing on Sept. 21, when he published without comment a secret telegram written by Ambassador Bernstorff himself and asking his Government for \$50,000 to be used in influencing Congress. This was not one of the papers taken from von Igel, but was of much later date, and Mr. Lansing stated that the cablegram had not been sent to Germany through the State Department, leaving it to be implied that it went by way of some neutral legation. The text of the Bernstorff message to the Berlin Foreign Office, which is dated Jan. 22, 1917, is as follows:

I request authority to pay out up to \$50,000, (fifty thousand dollars,) in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war.

I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly.

In the above circumstances a public official German declaration in favor of Ireland is highly desirable, in order to gain the support of Irish influence here.

Von Bernstorff's effort to use money "to influence Congress" caused a sensation among members of the Senate and House. Congressman Heflin of Alabama increased the excitement by declaring in the House that he could name "thirteen or fourteen members who had acted suspiciously." Congressman Howard of Georgia asserted that he "believed that he could point to certain persons who got some of it"—the money to which Count von Bernstorff referred in his cable message to the Berlin Foreign Office.

Three days later, on Sept. 24, the subject led to the most turbulent session the House of Representatives had seen since the struggle to overthrow Speaker Cannon in 1911. Representative Norton of North Dakota called to account Representative Heflin of Alabama and Repre-

sentative Howard of Georgia for insinuating that members of Congress had profited by German intrigue. Two resolutions of inquiry, one by Representative Norton and the other by Representative Fordney of Michigan, were introduced and sent to the Rules Committee. The first resolution called upon both Representative Howard and Representative Heflin to make good, and the second mentioned only Representative Heflin.

Before a full membership, while the galleries were crowded with spectators, Representative Heflin stood up under the hoots and jeers and heckling of practically the entire House. When called upon time and again to name the men who had received money from Germany he evaded the question. In the succeeding days the storm abated, when it became apparent that Mr. Heflin's suspicions were without solid basis, and that Ambassador Bernstorff evidently had expected not to bribe Congressmen with \$50,000, but to keep up a propaganda of letters and telegrams for influencing them.

Motive of Bernstorff's Request

Secretary Lansing later made public the fact that when Count Bernstorff, who is now the German Ambassador to Turkey, asked his Government for \$50,000 to influence the American Congress last January the Ambassador was already aware that Germany was about to resume ruthless submarine warfare. The request for the money was sent on Jan. 22, 1917. Secretary Lansing said that on or before Jan. 19 the Ambassador had read the order from Dr. Zimmermann, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, directing Admiral von Eckhardt, the Minister in Mexico, to arrange an alliance between the Japanese and Mexican Governments to attack the United States and alienate American territory. In that order von Eckhardt was informed that on Feb. 1 Germany would begin unrestricted submarine warfare. Bernstorff knew this from the Zimmermann message, and he wanted the corruption fund to endeavor to stay the inevitable resentment of the American Government. The evidence indicates that the money was used largely through pretended pacifist

societies and individuals who were working secretly or openly for Germany's cause.

Promoted Sabotage Plots

Further disclosures made by the State Department on Oct. 10 revealed the fact that the German Government, through its Ambassador, was engaged in acts of war against the United States fifteen months before this country entered the conflict. Secretary Lansing gave out three messages exchanged either by cable or wireless between the Berlin Foreign Office and General Staff on the one hand and Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, on the other. Count Bernstorff is directly implicated by these messages in German official plans to injure the United States.

The first of the three messages is dated Jan. 3, 1916. The American Government entered the war on April 6, 1917. This message is in the form of directions to Count Bernstorff from Dr. Zimmermann, who retired recently from the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, to arrange to destroy the Canadian Pacific Railway. Germany was at war with Great Britain and her colonies, and the only concern of the United States in this particular phase of the matter would be that the German Ambassador in Washington was being used to further plots involving a nation with which the American Government was on friendly terms. But in the two subsequent messages, one dated Jan. 26, 1916, and the other Sept. 15, 1916, violations of the law of nations directed against the United States were ordered. Secretary Lansing's statement was made in this form:

The Secretary of State publishes the following two telegrams from the German Foreign Office to Count Bernstorff in January, 1916:

Jan. 3. (Secret.) General Staff desires energetic action in regard to proposed destruction of Canadian Pacific Railway at several points with a view to complete and protracted interruption of traffic. Captain Boehm, who is known on your side and is shortly returning, has been given instructions. Inform the Military Attaché and provide the necessary funds.

(Signed,) ZIMMERMANN.

Jan. 26. For Military Attaché. You can obtain particulars as to persons suitable for carrying on sabotage in the United States and Canada from the following persons: 1. Joseph MacGarrity, Philadelphia, Penn.; 2. John P. Keating, Michigan Avenue, Chicago; 3. Jeremiah O'Leary, 16 Park Row, New York.

One and two are absolutely reliable and discreet. No. 3 is reliable but not always discreet. These persons were indicated by Sir Roger Casement. In the United States sabotage can be carried out on every kind of factory for supplying munitions of war. Railway embankments and bridges must not be touched. Embassy must in no circumstance be compromised. Similar precautions must be taken in regard to Irish pro-German propaganda.

(Signed.) REPRESENTATIVE
OF GENERAL STAFF.

The following telegram from Count Bernstorff to the Foreign Office in Berlin was sent in September, 1916:

Sept. 15. With reference to report A. N. two hundred and sixty-six of May tenth, nineteen sixteen. The embargo conferee in regard to whose earlier fruitful co-operation Dr. Hale can give information, is just about to enter upon a vigorous campaign to secure a majority in both houses of Congress favorable to Germany, and request further support. There is no possibility of our being compromised. Request telegraphic reply.

The State Department preserved silence as to where it had obtained the German official secret correspondence in this and similar cases. State Secretary Lansing merely said that the last three messages had not been sent to Berlin under cover of the United States diplomatic code, thus leaving it to be implied that communications had been carried on between Bernstorff and his Government through the medium of some neutral embassy at Washington.

One "Former Occasion"

It is now possible to reconstruct the history of one of the "former occasions" on which Bernstorff had tried to influence Congress by the use of German money. In 1915 he had worked through the organization that called itself Labor's National Peace Council. When his agent, Rintelen, was exposed, ending that organization's usefulness, he substituted the American Embargo Conference. This tool he began to employ effectively in November, 1915, and only

President Wilson's determined action prevented it from actually controlling certain legislation. Its task was to formulate and direct a trumped-up sentiment in favor of an embargo on munitions, and against the right of American citizens to travel on British ships. How near it came to succeeding was recorded in these pages at the time.

The conference met in November, the date evidently being planned by Bernstorff with a view to the meeting of Congress in December. The outcry it created was so effective that on Dec. 13, 1915, Senator Kenyon of Iowa introduced a resolution forbidding Americans to take passage on ships carrying munitions.

On Jan. 10, 1916, Senator Gore introduced his first resolution forbidding the sale of contraband to England as long as she persisted in her blockade. On Jan. 20 Senator Hoke Smith demanded an embargo, and favored a truculent attitude toward England.

On Feb. 3 The Providence Journal exposed the origin of the American Embargo Conference, declaring that it was "planned and brought into existence by Count Johann von Bernstorff at Washington and financed directly from the office of Dr. Heinrich Albert, the fiscal agent of the German Government in New York City," and that it had "taken up the work of the so-called Labor's National Peace Council." Yet on Feb. 22 the Congressmen who were unconsciously playing Bernstorff's game went so far as to use their various embargo resolutions to frighten the President, and the next day the House Committee on Foreign Affairs served notice that unless the President warned Americans off armed ships within twenty-four hours the House would pass the Gore resolution. On Feb. 24 the President wrote Senator Stone, Chairman of that committee, declaring, "I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect." On Feb. 25 The Providence Journal disclosed the fact that the whole plot had been formulated by Bernstorff, and that two weeks before messages had been sent to pro-German newspapers directing them to publish articles

preparing the minds of their readers for it.

Nevertheless, on the same day Speaker Clark and Representative Kitchin told the President that the Gore resolution would pass by at least 2 to 1. The President forced the issue, and when the Gore resolution came to a vote on March 3 it was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 68 to 14. The McLemore resolution was

defeated four days later in the House by 276 to 142. This is the history of one "former occasion," when Count Bernstorff had used German money to hoodwink Congress. With a paper organization created and financed by him under orders from Berlin he had fooled and tricked Congress into believing that the noise it made was the voice of the American people.

Activities of Bolo Pasha as German Agent

THE most amazing instance thus far discovered of the German Government's lavish waste of the German people's money for useless intrigues in other countries is that revealed after the arrest of Paul Bolo, alias Bolo Pasha, in Paris, Sept. 29, 1917. Bolo had long been under suspicion and had been temporarily under arrest several weeks before, but only upon receipt of important evidence from the United States was he imprisoned without bail. He is a Frenchman, born at Marseilles, and, according to an article in the Paris Matin, is a brother of an eloquent French prelate of that name. He has had an adventurous career in various countries, including Egypt, and at the beginning of the war he was penniless; but when in Switzerland in March, 1915, he met Abbas Hilmi, former Khédive of Egypt, and apparently concluded an arrangement by which he was to receive \$2,500,000 to be used in influencing the French press in favor of a German peace. The plan was approved by Gottlieb von Jagow, German Foreign Minister, who was to pay the money partly through the ex-Khédive and partly through Swiss and American banks.

In accordance with this arrangement \$1,000,000 was paid by roundabout methods through Swiss banks, to avert suspicion. Abbas Hilmi and an associate are said to have collected \$50,000 as a commission. After that time Bolo Pasha and Abbas Hilmi seemed to have fallen out, for their relations ceased. At the time of his arrest Bolo was said to have received \$8,000,000 from Germany, of which \$2,500,000 had been

traced to the Deutsche Bank. Large portions of this sum were said to have been paid through an American channel. The actual facts, now proved by the documents, go far toward confirming those original estimates.

Bolo arrived in New York on Feb. 22, 1916, and left on March 17 following. He had rooms at the Plaza Hotel, and was careful not to be seen in public with German agents. He saw Bernstorff secretly in Washington.

When the French Government got an inkling of his traitorous activities it appealed to Governor Whitman of New York for evidence, and ten days' work by Merton E. Lewis, the Attorney General of the State, assisted by an expert accountant, resulted in sensational disclosures which were made public on the evening of Oct. 3. The evidence, which included photographic reproductions of many telltale checks, letters, and telegrams, revealed the fact that Count Bernstorff, then German Ambassador at Washington, had eagerly fallen in with Bolo's proposition to betray France by corrupting the press in favor of a premature peace and had advanced him the enormous sum of \$1,683,500 to finance the plot. The State Department and Ambassador Jusserand examined the evidence and attested its genuineness.

Many banks had been used to confuse and hide the transaction, but the persons and agencies who figured knowingly in it are Bolo Pasha, Ambassador von Bernstorff, and two bankers—Hugo Schmidt, former New York agent of

the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, who acted as Bernstorff's financial agent, and Adolph Pavenstedt, former head of the New York banking house of G. Amsinck & Co.

Disposal of the Money

Of the mass of documents exhibited by Attorney General Lewis, the most important was a letter written by Bolo Pasha to the New York City branch of the Royal Bank of Canada on March 14, 1916, three days before he sailed to return to France. That letter reads:

New York, March 14, 1916.
The Royal Bank of Canada, New York,
N. Y.

Gentlemen: You will receive from Messrs. G. Amsinck & Co. deposits for the credit of my account with you, which deposits will reach the aggregate amount of about \$1,700,000, which I wish you to utilize in the following manner:

First—Immediately on receipt of the first amount on account of this sum pay to Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., New York City, the sum of \$170,068.03, to be placed to the credit of the account with them of Senator Charles Humbert, Paris.

Second—Establish on your books a credit of \$5,000, good until the 31st of May, in favor of Jules Bois, Biltmore Hotel, this amount to be utilized by him at the debit of my account according to his needs, and the unused balance to be returned to me.

Third—Transfer to the credit of my wife, Mme. Bolo, with agency T of Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris a sum of about \$524,000, to be debited to my account as such transfers are made by you at best rate and by small amounts.

Fourth—You will hold, subject to my instructions, when all payments are complete, a balance of not less than \$1,000,000.

Yours truly, BOLO PASHA.

That is how the \$1,683,500, which was the exact amount Bernstorff ordered Schmidt to place at the service of Bolo, came into the latter's actual possession.

Text of Bernstorff's Dispatches.

Direct evidence that Count Bernstorff was the master mind behind the plot on this side of the Atlantic came to light in five dispatches that were made public by Secretary Lansing on Oct. 5. These messages were exchanged in the Spring of 1916:

The Department of State communicates to the press the following telegrams bearing upon the case of Bolo Pasha, exchanged between Count von Bernstorff

and Herr von Jagow, German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Number 679, Feb. 26. I have received direct information from an entirely trustworthy source concerning a political action in one of the enemy countries which would bring peace. One of the leading political personalities of the country in question is seeking a loan of one million seven hundred thousand dollars in New York, for which security will be given. I was forbidden to give his name in writing. The affair seems to me to be of the greatest possible importance. Can the money be provided at once in New York? That the intermediary will keep the matter secret is entirely certain. Request answer by telegram. A verbal report will follow as soon as a trustworthy person can be found to write it to Germany. BERNSTORFF.

Number 150, Feb. 29. Answer to telegram Number 679. Agree to the loan, but only if peace action seems to you a really serious project, as the provision of money in New York is for us at present extraordinarily difficult. If the enemy country is Russia have nothing to do with the business, as the sum of money is too small to have any serious effect in that country. So, too, in the case of Italy, where it would not be worth while to spend so much. JAGOW.

Number 685, March 5. Please instruct Deutsche Bank to hold nine million marks at disposal of Hugo Schmidt. The affair is very promising. Further particulars follow. BERNSTORFF.

Number 692, March 20. With reference to telegram Number 685, please advise our Minister in Berne that some one will call on him who will give him the passport Sanct Regis and who wishes to establish relations with the Foreign Office. Intermediary further requests that influence may be brought to bear upon our press to pass over the change in the inner political situation in France so far as possible in silence, in order that things may not be spoiled by German approval. BERNSTORFF.

Number 206, May 31. The person announced in Telegram 692 of March 20 has not yet reported himself at the legation at Berne. Is there any more news on your side of Bolo? JAGOW.

French Senator Involved

In France the most sensational feature of the case was Bolo's payment of \$170,000 to Senator Charles Humbert, owner of *Le Journal*. The money was in part payment for 1,100 bonds of that

newspaper. Senator Humbert immediately came out with a statement to prove that he was entirely unaware of the treasonable purpose of the purchaser. He gave facts showing that Bolo Pasha had used his contract with *Le Journal* to extract money from Germany. On Oct. 12 a French military court inquiring into the case appointed a sequestrator for the money advanced to Senator Hum-

bert. It amounted in all to \$1,200,000, and was handed over to the care of the Deposit and Consignment Office, a section of the Ministry of Finance.

Whatever the total number of millions extracted from the German Government by Bolo Pasha, the utter futility of the expenditure, so far as Germany is concerned, must remain one of the most striking features of the case.

The Disease Germ Plot at Bucharest

CLOSE upon the heels of the von Igel intrigues a new chapter of German criminality was revealed on Sept. 23 by Secretary Lansing's publication of the documents relating to the plot of German diplomatic agents to use deadly microbes and powerful explosives against Rumania at a time when friendly relations still existed between the two countries. As *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* published this dark chapter of German diplomacy in its April issue, (page 72,) translating it from unofficial French sources, and as the documents now vouched for by the United States Government are substantially the same as those then presented, this case will be treated here only in a brief summary.

The evidence given out by the State Department shows that before Rumania had declared war against Austria-Hungary, and was observing strict neutrality, German official agents clandestinely introduced into Bucharest, the capital of Rumania, packages containing explosives powerful enough to wreck public works, and vials containing deadly microbes destined to infect domestic animals and susceptible of provoking terrible epidemics among the human population of the country. The vials contained anthrax microbes and the bacilli of glanders.

The box of disease germs bore the seal of the German Consulate at Kronstadt. In the inside of this box, above a layer of cotton wool, this typewritten note in German was found:

Inclosed 4 small bottles for horses and 4 for cattle. Utilization as formerly stipu-

lated. Each phial suffices for 200 head. If possible, to be administered directly into the animals' mouths, otherwise into their fodder. We ask for a small report about successes obtained there, and in case of good results the presence for one day of M. K. would be required.

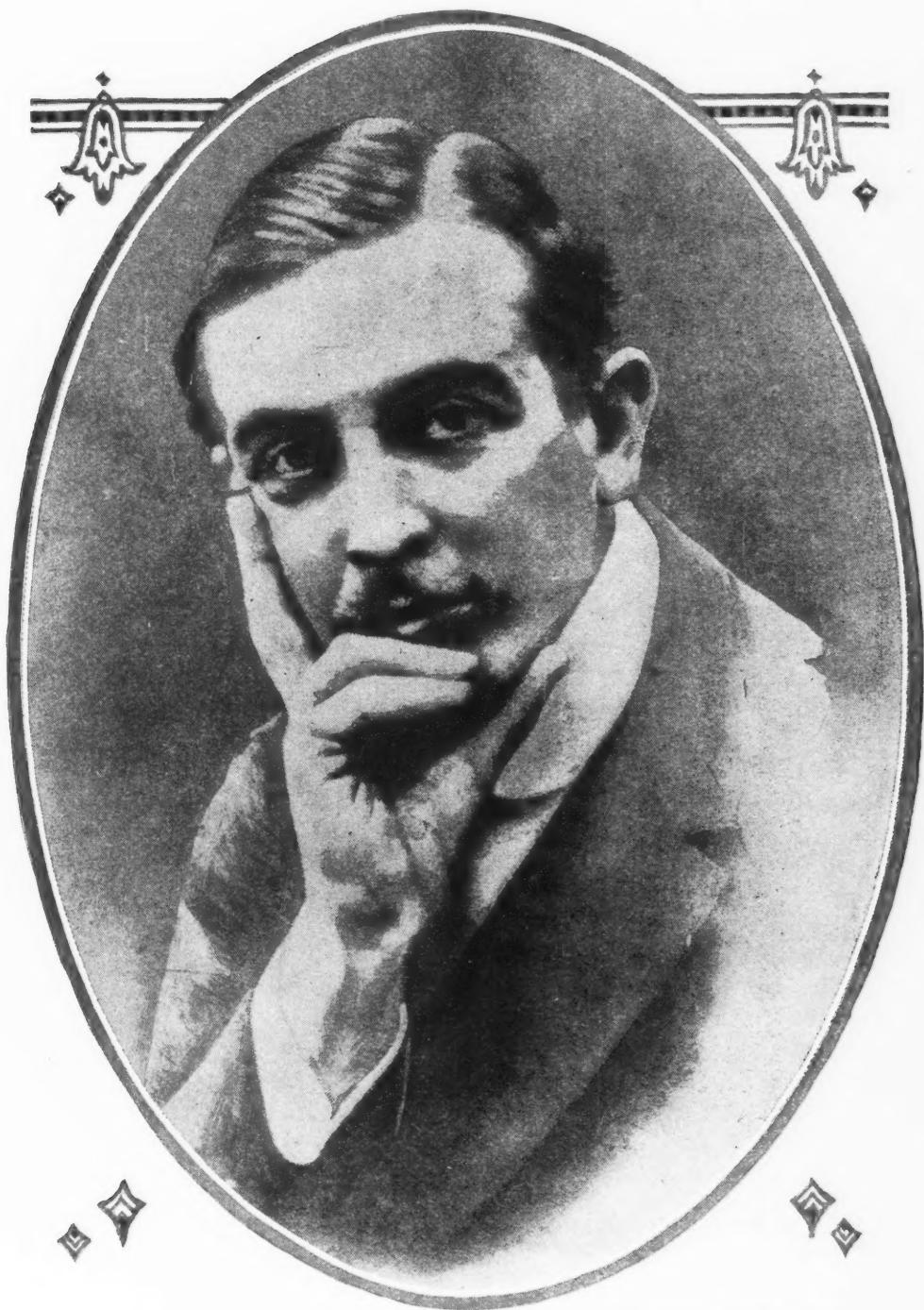
After its discovery of the plot the Rumanian Government called in William Whiting Andrews, the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Legation at Bucharest, who witnessed the digging up of the boxes of explosives and the packages containing the vials of microbes from the grounds of the German Legation, to which they had been secretly moved from the German Consulate in Bucharest on the eve of Rumania's declaration of war.

Just before Rumania broke relations they were removed to the legation. Some of the objects were even taken to the German Legation after the American Legation at Bucharest had taken over the protection of German interests.

Dr. Bernhardt, former confidential agent of the German Minister, and servants of the German Legation confessed that this had been done. In this respect, the action of Germany's agent was a deliberate abuse of the protection which the United States Government was giving to German interests in Bucharest. At that time the United States was at peace with Germany and had agreed to take charge of Germany's legation in the Rumanian capital.

"The protection of the United States was in this manner shamefully abused and exploited," says the official report of Chargé d'Affaires Andrews to the State Department.

BARON VON KUEHLMANN



(Photo Bain News Service)

The German Foreign Secretary, Who Was Chosen to Replace Herr von Zimmermann.
Von Kuehlmann Was Formerly at the German Embassy in London

COUNT OTTOCAR VON CZERNIN



(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

The Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Head of the Government of
the Dual Monarchy

German Peace Propaganda

Replies of Central Empires to the Pope's Appeal Speeches of Government Leaders on Both Sides

President Wilson's reply to the peace proposals of Pope Benedict was printed in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. No replies were made by the Entente Powers, but it was semi-officially announced by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia, that President Wilson's answer expressed in letter and spirit their attitude. The official replies of Germany and Austria-Hungary were made public on Sept. 22, 1917. The full text of the German note, as transmitted by Chancellor Michaelis to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, is given below:

Text of Germany's Reply to the Pope

HERR CARDINAL: Your Eminence has been good enough, together with your letter of Aug. 2, to transmit to the Kaiser and King, my most gracious master, the note of his Holiness the Pope, in which his Holiness, filled with grief at the devastations of the world war, makes an emphatic peace appeal to the heads of the belligerent peoples. The Kaiser-King has deigned to acquaint me with your Eminence's letter and to intrust the reply to me.

His Majesty has been following for a considerable time with high respect and sincere gratitude his Holiness' efforts, in a spirit of true impartiality, to alleviate as far as possible the sufferings of the war and to hasten the end of hostilities. The Kaiser sees in the latest step of his Holiness fresh proof of his noble and humane feelings, and cherishes a lively desire that, for the benefit of the entire world, the Papal appeal may meet with success.

The effort of Pope Benedict is to pave the way to an understanding among all peoples, and might more surely reckon on a sympathetic reception and the whole-hearted support from his Majesty, seeing that the Kaiser since taking over the Government has regarded it as his principal and most sacred task to preserve the blessings of peace for the German people and the world.

In his first speech from the throne at the opening of the German Reichstag on June 25, 1888, the Kaiser promised that his love of the German Army and his position toward it should never lead him into temptation to cut short the benefits of peace unless war were a necessity, forced upon us by an attack on the empire or its allies. The German Army should safeguard peace for us, and should peace, nevertheless, be broken, it would be in a position to win it with honor. The Kaiser has, by his acts, fulfilled the promise he then made in twenty-six years of happy rule, despite provocations and temptations.

In the crisis which led to the present world conflagration his Majesty's efforts were up to the last moment directed toward settling the conflict by peaceful means. After the war had broken out, against his wish and desire, the Kaiser, in conjunction with his high allies, was the first solemnly to declare his readiness to enter into peace negotiations. The German people support his Majesty in his keen desire for peace.

Germany sought within her national frontier the free development of her spiritual and material possessions, and outside the imperial territory unhindered competition with nations enjoying equal rights and equal esteem. The free play of forces in the world in peaceable wrestling with one another would lead to the highest perfecting of the noblest human possessions. A disastrous concatenation of events in the year 1914 absolutely broke off all hopeful course of development and transformed Europe into a bloody battle arena.

Appreciating the importance of his Holiness' declaration, the Imperial Government has not failed to submit the suggestion contained therein to earnest and scrupulous examination. Special measures, which the Government has taken in closest contact with representatives of the German people, for discussing and answering the questions raised, prove how earnestly it desires, in accordance with his Holiness' desires, and the peace resolution of the Reichstag on July 19, to find a practical basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Imperial Government greets with special sympathy the leading idea of the peace appeal wherein his Holiness clearly expresses the conviction that in the future the material power of arms must be superseded by the moral power of right. We are also convinced that the sick body of human society can only be healed by fortifying its moral strength of right. From this would follow, according to his Holiness' view, the simultaneous

diminution of the armed forces of all States and the institution of obligatory arbitration for international disputes.

We share his Holiness' view that definite rules and a certain safeguard for a simultaneous and reciprocal limitation of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, as well as for the true freedom of the community and high seas, are the things in treating which—the new spirit that in the future should prevail in international relations—should find first hopeful expression. The task would then of itself arise to decide international differences of opinion, not by the use of armed forces, but by peaceful methods, especially by arbitration, whose high peace-producing effect we together with his Holiness fully recognize.

The Imperial Government will in this respect support every proposal compatible with the vital interest of the German Empire and people.

Germany, owing to her geographical situation and economic requirements, has to rely on peaceful intercourse with her neighbors and with distant countries. No people, therefore, has more reason than the German people to wish that instead of universal hatred and battle, a conciliatory fraternal spirit should prevail between nations.

If the nations are guided by this spirit it will be recognized to their advantage that the important thing is to lay more stress upon what unites them in their relations. They will also succeed in settling individual points of conflict which are still undecided, in such a way that conditions of existence will be created which will be satisfactory to every nation, and thereby a repetition of this great world catastrophe would appear impossible.

Only on this condition can a lasting peace be founded which would promote an intellectual rapprochement and a return to the economic prosperity of human society.

This serious and sincere conviction encourages our confidence that our enemies also may see a suitable basis in the ideas submitted by his Holiness for approaching nearer to the preparation of future peace under conditions corresponding to a spirit of reasonableness and to the situation in Europe.

Reply of the Austrian Emperor

(Official translation.)

Holy Father: With due veneration and deep emotion we take cognizance of the new representations which your Holiness, in fulfillment of the holy office intrusted to you by God, makes to us and the heads of the other belligerent States, with the noble intention of leading the heavily tried nations to a unity that will restore peace to them.

With a thankful heart we receive this fresh gift of fatherly care which you, Holy Father, always bestow on all peoples without distinction, and from the depth of our heart we greet the moving exhortation which your Holiness has addressed to the Governments of the belligerent peoples.

During this cruel war we have always looked up to your Holiness as to the highest personage, who, in virtue of his mission, which reaches beyond earthly things, and, thanks to the high conception of his duties laid upon him, stands high above the belligerent peoples, and who, inaccessible to all influence, was able to find a way which may lead to the realization of our own desire for peace, lasting and honorable for all parties.

Since ascending the throne of our ancestors, and fully conscious of the responsibility which we bear before God and men for the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, we have never lost sight of the high aim of restoring to our peoples, as speedily as possible, the blessings of peace. Soon after our accession to the throne it was vouchsafed to us, in common with our allies, to undertake a step which had been considered and prepared by our exalted predecessor, Francis Joseph, to pave the way for a lasting and honorable peace.

We gave expression to this desire in a speech from the throne delivered at the opening of the Austrian Reichstag, thereby showing that we are striving after a peace that shall free the future life of the nation from rancor and a thirst for revenge, and that shall secure them for generations to come from the employment of armed forces. Our joint Government has in the meantime not failed in repeated and emphatic declarations, which could be heard by all the world, to give expression to our own will and that of the Austro-Hungarian peoples to prepare an end to bloodshed by a peace such as your Holiness has in mind.

Happy in the thought that our desires from the first were directed toward the same object which your Holiness today characterizes as one we should strive for, we have taken into close consideration the concrete and practical suggestion of your Holiness and have come to the following conclusions:

With deep-rooted conviction we agree to the leading idea of your Holiness that the future arrangement of the world must be based on the elimination of armed forces and on the moral force of right and on the rule of international justice and legality.

We, too, are imbued with the hope that a strengthening of the sense of right would

morally regenerate humanity. We support, therefore, your Holiness' view that the negotiations between the belligerents should and could lead to an understanding by which, with the creation of appropriate guarantees, armaments on land and sea and in the air might be reduced simultaneously, reciprocally and gradually to a fixed limit, and whereby the high seas, which rightly belong to all the nations of the earth, may be freed from domination or paramountcy, and be opened equally for the use of all.

Fully conscious of the importance of the promotion of peace on the method proposed by your Holiness, namely, to submit international disputes to compulsory arbitration, we are also prepared to enter into negotiations regarding this proposal.

If, as we most heartily desire, agreements should be arrived at between the belligerents which would realize this sublime idea and thereby give security to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for its unhampered future development, it can then not be difficult to find a satisfactory solution of the other questions which still remain to be settled between the belligerents in a spirit of justice, and of a reasonable consideration of the conditions for existence of both parties.

If the nations of the earth were to enter, with a desirable peace, into negotiations with one another in the sense of your Holiness' proposals, then peace could blossom forth from them. The nations could attain complete freedom of movement on the high seas, heavy material burdens could be taken from them, and new sources of prosperity opened to them.

Guided by a spirit of moderation and conciliation, we see in the proposals of your Holiness a suitable basis for initiating negotiations with a view to preparing a peace, just to all and lasting, and we earnestly hope our present enemies may be animated by the same ideas. In this spirit we beg that the Almighty may bless the work of peace begun by your Holiness.

The World's Comments on Austro-German Notes

It was announced by Vatican officials that the replies of the Central Powers were disappointing in that there were no specific references to evacuation or restoration. A story gained circulation later to the effect that the notes had been altered at the last moment—that the Pan-Germans had eliminated all references to Belgium and to disavowal of indemnities and annexations.

The comment of the newspapers in the various countries was colored by their own bias. Allied and American newspapers almost without exception treated the replies with disdain and characterized them as a further demonstration of Teutonic duplicity and hypocrisy; this was likewise the official view among the Allies. The German-Austrian press regarded the notes as further evidence of the peaceful intentions of the Central Powers, and declared that they were sufficiently specific, though some radical German newspapers spoke otherwise. The Catholic press in Holland manifested a sympathetic attitude, and asserted that the course of peace was advanced by the replies, but this view prevailed nowhere else.

The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, on the reassembling of the Reichstag,

Sept. 25, referred to the Papal note in these terms:

We believe that agreements can be attained, which under proper guarantees might enable armaments to be gradually and simultaneously reduced, among other things by the introduction on this basis of obligatory arbitration for international disputes.

Our readiness to arrive at an agreement with our enemies on these bases is absolutely serious and sincere and is inspired by the consciousness of our strength. But if our enemies are not prepared to take the proffered hand we will continue our defensive war to the utmost.

Believing that a strong Austria, insuring contentment of all races, is the best guarantee of a lasting peace, we are striving to reform the Constitution, and the Government resolutely condemns the mistaken view held by certain parties that Austria's salvation is to be hoped for from Austria's enemies.

The German Chancellor, in a speech to the Main Committee of the Reichstag Sept. 28, answered the critics of Germany's reply in these words:

The German reply to the Pope's note met with the approval of our friends and allies, while a majority of our enemies have given it an obviously embarrassed reception. It is difficult to understand how any one acquainted with the international situation and international usages could believe that we ever would be in

such a position as, through a one-sided public statement on important questions which are indissolubly bound up with the entire complex of questions which must be discussed at the peace negotiations to bind ourselves to a solution to our own prejudice.

Any such public statement at the present time could only have a confusing effect and injure German interests. We should not come a step nearer peace, but it would contribute certainly to a prolongation of the war. I must at present decline to specify our war aims and bind the hands of our negotiators.

In conclusion the Chancellor attacked President Wilson's reply to the Pope's note:

The President's attempt to sow dissension between the people and the Government of Germany has no prospects of success. His note has had the opposite effect from what he desired and has bound us more firmly together in a stern resolve to oppose resolutely and energetically all foreign interference.

Germany's Peace Ultimatum: "Break-down of Europe"

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, also on Sept. 28 addressed the Main Committee of the Reichstag on the Pope's proposals, saying in part:

This courageous initiative of the Pope will mark an epoch in the history of this tremendous battle of nations and will appear as an unfading page in the annals of Vatican diplomacy. The Pope threw the word "peace" into the turmoil of battle at a time when events threatened to transform Europe into a place of blood-stained ruins.

The German people and the German Government, whose consciousness of their strength and internal security always made it easy for them to emphasize their willingness to conclude an honorable peace, have reason to welcome gratefully the initiative of the Curia, which made it possible for them to set forth again their national policy in a clear, unambiguous manner. I say intentionally "national policy," as I hope and believe the reply of the German Government, both as regards its form and contents, embodies the de-

sires of an overwhelming majority of the Germans.

The principles of the reply to the Papal note as presented by the Government appear acceptable to the representatives of all the parties. Consequently I believe I can say with full right that all attempts of the enemy to drive a wedge between the German people and the German Government on the question of the basis of our foreign policy and by the propagation of the fiction that the German people do not stand behind the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor will be repulsed in the most crushing manner by the support given to this document. * * *

Dr. von Kühlmann declared that the breakdown of European civilization would leave every nation weaker and poorer, no matter to what combination it might belong. He continued:

When the young power, Germany, nearly fifty years ago entered the circle of old powers she was greeted by nobody with great enthusiasm; but these fifty years have proved more than abundantly that the new power brought strength to the whole of Europe. If today our enemies believe that they are able to turn back the course of history and bring into existence again a weak formation of federated States alongside a Prussia which has been subjected to deadly mutilation, these are only delusions, which are hardly pardonable in the case of political theorists, and must be ruinous in the case of responsible statesmen.

As long as our enemies base themselves on fiction—the more clever ones among them do not believe in it—the time may come in which the German Nation, doing penance in sackcloth and ashes, and beating its breast in sorrow, may grovel under the yoke of despicable demands.

We shall have to continue to speak by the sword. It may not be easy to show the truth plainly to the nations of the Entente, which have been incited by legends invented at the beginning of the war, but how otherwise is the new spirit to come into existence? This is an indispensable condition if we are to arrive at a termination of the present struggle of the nations.

The German people are firmly convinced that they are conducting a just war. From this conviction they draw strength cheerfully to meet the great sacrifices which the times demand.

Definite Refusal to Discuss Alsace-Lorraine

Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann on Oct. 10, at a plenary sitting of the Reichstag, became more definite in ex-

pressing Germany's war aims. He said that the attitude of the Entente Powers gave no prospect that the Pope's pro-

posal would be successful, notwithstanding the agreement of the Central Powers "to collaborate not only in the termination of the present conflict but in the reconstruction of a Europe nearly ruined." He continued as follows:

The great question prolonging the struggle is not the future of Belgium, but that of Alsace-Lorraine. Great Britain, according to our information, has pledged herself to France that she will continue the fight for the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine both politically and with her armies so long as France desires to adhere to the program of regaining those provinces. This being the actual situation, I think it proper to give a clear and firm statement of our attitude, since, curiously enough, there still seems to be a misconception in this respect among our enemies, and even among our neutral friends.

There is but one answer to the question, "Can Germany in any form make concessions with regard to Alsace-Lorraine?" That answer is "No." So long as one German hand can hold a gun the integrity of the territory handed down to us as a glorious inheritance by our forefathers can never be the object of negotiations or concessions.

When it seemed expedient to France to accept the formula "without annexations" the French resorted to the transparent trick of bashfully covering up with the word "disannexation" what is in reality a barefaced and forceful conquest. The trick is really too clumsy to be worthy of repute. Now, except for France's demand for Alsace-Lorraine, there is absolutely no impediment to peace, no question which could not be solved by negotiations or a settlement in such a way as to render superfluous the further sacrifice of blood.

Our enemies heretofore have been careful not to reveal their real war aims. What they have told the world is a maximum program, which can only be realized after the complete military defeat of the Central Powers.

The German Government has never answered this program because we believe in dealing with real sober facts. Our answer to our opponents' assertions that they cannot obtain a clear conception of our intentions is our reply to the Pope, and the parliamentary discussions in connection with this. They leave no doubt in the mind of any one who wishes to understand the essential principles of our peace program.

Reiterated by the Chancellor

Chancellor Michaelis, in his address at the same session, Sept. 10, supported the attitude of the Foreign Secretary in these words:

The German Nation will stand together as one man unshakable, and persevere in the fight until its right and the right of our allies to existence and development are assured. In its unity the German Empire is invincible.

We must continue to persevere until the German Empire, on the Continent and overseas, establishes its position. Further, we must strive to see that the armed alliance of our enemies does not grow into an economic offensive alliance.

We can in this sense achieve a peace which guarantees the peasant the reward of his land; which gives the worker merited recompense; which creates a market for industries and supplies the foundation for social progress; which gives our ships the possibility on a free voyage of entering ports and taking on coal all over the world. A peace of the widest economic and cultural development, a real peace. This peace we can attain within these limits.

As long as our enemies confront us with demands which appear unacceptable to every single German, as long as our opponents wish to interfere with our frontier posts, as long as they demand that we shall yield a piece of German soil, as long as they pursue the idea of driving a wedge between the German people and its Emperor, so long shall we with folded arms refuse the hand of peace.

We can wait. Time is working for us. Until our enemies perceive that they must reduce their claims, so long must the cannon speak and the U-boats do their work. Our peace will yet come.

Lloyd George's Answer

Premier Lloyd George answered Baron Kühlmann on Oct. 11 in an address at London, as follows:

I cannot think of any statement more calculated to prolong the war than the assertion of the German Foreign Secretary, von Kühlmann, that Germany would never contemplate the making of concessions to France respecting Alsace-Lorraine. However long the war lasts, England intends to stand by her gallant ally, France, until she redeems her oppressed children from the degradation of a foreign yoke. This means that the country must husband its resources, and, when demands were put forward for improvements here and there, my answer is: "Concentrate upon victory."

Former Premier Asquith, the same day, referring to the same subject, said:

German diplomacy is not celebrated for deftness, but even in its annals it will be difficult to find a more clumsy or more transparent manoeuvre than this maladroit attempt to sow discord between ourselves and our French allies. Von

Kühlmann relegates the Belgian question to a secondary position. I have formally asked whether Germany was ready to restore Belgium in the only real sense acceptable to the Allies, but I have received no answer, and von Kühlmann, who can be boisterously definite and precise concerning Alsace-Lorraine, preserves regarding Belgium an unbroken, but significant, silence.

The first speech of Dr. von Kühlmann was not sympathetically received by the Vatican, and was a disappointment, as he was expected to indicate concrete conditions, while on the contrary it unveiled a warlike spirit in the German governing party, in direct opposition to

the attitude assumed by the Pope in his proposal.

Following these speeches a warm debate ensued in the German Reichstag, and for a while it was thought the peace advocates would overthrow the Government, but a disavowal by the Chancellor that the Government was acting in collusion with the Pan-German faction to the exclusion of other political parties, and the disclosures regarding the naval mutiny which involved the independent Socialists, put the peace advocates on the defensive and strengthened materially the militarists.

Austria-Hungary Explains Her Demands

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Oct. 3 delivered an address at Budapest which created considerable stir among the belligerent nations and was regarded as evidence of a growing and acute necessity of peace. He said in part:

The millions who are fighting in the trenches or behind the lines wish to know why and for what they are fighting. They have a right to learn why peace, which the entire world desires, has not yet come. When I was appointed to my post I utilized the first opportunity openly to declare that we did not want to oppress any one, but that on the other hand we would not suffer any oppression, and that we were prepared to enter upon peace negotiations as soon as our enemies accepted the standpoint of peace by agreement.

Count Czernin said a plain statement of war aims was indispensable. He explained the conversion of the Central Powers to the doctrine of disarmament by declaring that armaments were necessary until the world was convinced that Austria-Hungary was not a dying State, subject to dismemberment. In conclusion, Count Czernin threatened that unless peace without annexations or indemnities were immediately accepted it would be necessary for Austria-Hungary to revise its program and seek compensation for further costs of the war. He said:

This war taught us that we must reckon on a great increase in former armaments. With unrestricted armaments the nations would be compelled to increase everything tenfold and the military estimates

of the great powers would amount to billions.

That is impossible. It would mean complete ruin. To return to the armament status of 1914 would be a great reduction, but there would be no meaning in not going further and actually disarming. Hence complete disarmament is the only issue from the difficulty.

Gigantic fleets will have no further purpose when the nations of the world guarantee the freedom of the seas, and land armies will be reduced to the level required for the maintenance of internal order. Every State will have to give up something of its independence for the purpose of insuring the world peace.

Probably the present generation will not live to see the completion of this great pacific movement. It can only be realized slowly, but I consider it our duty to place ourselves at the head of the movement to do everything humanly possible to accelerate its materialization.

Disarmament on High Seas

Strongly emphasizing the necessity for naval disarmament on the high seas, Count Czernin said:

I purposely say the high seas, for I do not extend the idea to narrow seas, and I freely admit that for sea communications special rules and regulations must obtain. With these factors made clear every ground for territorial guarantees disappears.

This is the basic idea of the beautiful and sublime note which the Pope addressed to the whole world. If this basis is accepted by our enemies we can renounce the enlargement of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, always provided that the enemy completely evacuate our territory.

Count Czernin then came to the final principle which he said it was necessary to observe to insure the free and pacific development of the world, namely, economic freedom. He said economic war must absolutely be eliminated from every future arrangement.

Before we conclude peace we must have the positive certainty that our present opponents have relinquished the idea of economic war. These, gentlemen, are the basic principles of the new world order, as they present themselves to my mind, and they are all founded on all-around disarmament.

The question of indemnities which the Entente is always advancing assumes remarkable completion when one considers the devastation their armies have wrought in Galicia, Bukowina, Tyrol, the Isonzo, East Prussia, in Turkish territories, and the German colonies. Does the Entente intend to compensate us for all this, or is it so completely mistaken in its judgment of our psychology that it hopes for a one-sided indemnification?

We do not seek strength in big words, but in our glorious armies, the firmness of our alliances, the steadfastness of our people and the wisdom of our war aims. We do not demand a Utopia. We can neither be bent nor destroyed. Conscious of our power and clear as to what we must attain, we go our ways.

Saying that he had been blamed both at home and in unfriendly countries for plain speaking with regard to the Austro-Hungarian peace terms, Count Czernin proceeded:

In broad outline our program for the re-establishment of order in the world has been laid down in our reply to the Pope's note. It may appear to be inconceivable to any people that the Central Powers desire to make renunciation with respect to military armaments, but the war has produced new facts, conditions, and conceptions which have shaken the foundation

of European politics as they previously existed.

Especially has the idea crumbled which held that Austria-Hungary was a moribund State. It was the dogma of impending dissolution of the monarchy which made our position in Europe difficult. By proving ourselves in this war thoroughly sound, and, at least, equal to the others, we destroyed the hopes that we could be overthrown by force of arms.

Now that this proof has been given, we are in a position simultaneously with our allies to lay aside arms and regulate future conflicts by arbitration. * * *

We have from the beginning stated our aim and adhered to it. But let no one cherish the delusion that this pacific and moderate program of ours can and will hold good forever. If our enemies compel us to continue the war we shall be obliged to revise our program and demand compensation.

I speak for the present moment, because I am convinced that world peace can now come on the basis which I have set forth. If the war, however, continues we reserve for ourselves a free hand. I am absolutely convinced that our position a year hence will be incomparably better than today. But I would consider it a crime to carry on the war for any material or territorial advantages for a single day longer than is necessary for the integrity of the monarchy and our future safety.

If our enemies refuse to listen and compel us to continue this murder, then we reserve the right to revise our terms. I am not very optimistic of the disposition of the Entente to conclude peace by agreement on the above basis. An overwhelming majority of the entire world wants peace by agreement, but some few men are preventing it.

We shall in this case pursue our way with sang froid and steady nerves. We know that we can hold out at the front and at home. Our hour will come, and with it a sure guarantee of the free and peaceful development of Austria-Hungary.

The British Viewpoint

The British viewpoint of peace was expressed by former Premier Herbert H. Asquith in an address at Leeds Sept. 26, under the auspices of the War Aims Committee. He described the German reply to the Papal note as teeming with "nebulous and unctuous generalities," but giving no indication that Germany would take any practical steps to open the road to a real and lasting peace. He asked:

Is there any reason to think that Germany has learned the lesson of the inevitable consequences of international spoliation? Is there in the Chancellor's dispatch or in any recent authoritative declaration of the German Government any indication that it is prepared not only to repeat the crime of '71, but to take any practical steps which alone can open the road to a real and lasting peace?

Is Germany ready to restore what she then took from France? Is she ready to give Belgium complete independence,

political and economic, without fetters or reservations, and with as complete an indemnity as any merely material compensation can provide for the devastation of her territory, the sufferings of her people? A definite reply to these questions would be worth a whole column of pious platitudes.

German Barbarity an Obstacle

Alluding to the necessity of destroying Prussian militarism, Mr. Asquith referred to the American revelations of the German machinations in Bucharest as fresh proof of the brutality and callousness with which Germany had waged war. [This exposure is treated elsewhere.] He said that nothing had aroused more worldwide surprise and consternation than the fact that the German Nation applauded with fervor the most barbarous transgressions of the German Government.

It shows [he said] from what unmeasured perils, from what a setback to the whole machinery of civilization mankind has been delivered, now that the Allies have shattered forever the dreams of German hegemony.

War Aims

Passing to the subject of war aims, he said:

We are fighting for two aims, one immediate, the other ulterior. The first is, not the restoration of the status quo, not a revival of what formerly was called the balance of power, but the substitution for the one and the other of an international system under which both great and small States can be assured of a stable foundation and independent development.

I assume, as a matter of course, the evacuation by the enemy of the occupied territories of France and Russia. I have already referred to Alsace-Lorraine and Belgium. But wherever you turn in Central and Eastern Europe you see territorial arrangements which are purely artificial in their origin, which offend the interests and wishes of the populations concerned and which remain seedplots of potential war.

There are the just claims of Italy, Rumania, and Serbia. There is Poland, concerning which, I believe, all our people heartily indorse the wise and generous words of President Wilson. The cases of Greece and the Southern Slavs must also not be forgotten, and what is required is the permanent liquidation of all these dangerous accounts.

Coming to the second aspect of an enduring peace, Mr. Asquith said:

We must banish once for all from our catalogue of maxims the time-worn fallacy that if you wish for peace you must make ready for war.

I am not a sentimentalist, and do not expect the sudden regeneration of mankind, when in the world's war offices the lion will lie down with the lamb and international relations become a perpetual love feast. I fear that even the youngest of us will not live to get more than a distant and imaginative glimpse of that beatific vision, but, speaking not as a Utopian or dreamy idealist, I assert that we are waging not only war for peace but war against war, and for the first time in history we may make an advance to the realization of an ideal, to which great men of action in the past, such, for instance, as Henry IV. of France, who was not visionary but a practical statesman, have been groping their way.

You will not at first, perhaps not for a long time, be able to dispense with coercion, military or economic, against the disloyal and recalcitrant, but we may well hope that the positive law, with its forcible restraints, may gradually recede into the background and sovereign authority be recognized to rest in the common sense of mankind.

It is impossible to believe that this universal upheaval will not leave abiding traces in the industrial and economic worlds. When the storm has passed over must we not, after such common discipline which has spared no class in society, see things that concern our daily lives and our relations to one another in a new and truer perspective than was ever possible before? In the meantime we must keep our powder dry.

Mr. Asquith said that peace could not be found in a cessation of active hostilities, followed by a process of territorial bargaining to be embodied ultimately in paper protocols and pacts and left there at the mercy of a chapter of accidents, which had wisely been called "the Bible of fools." He added:

Still less can you find peace worthy of the name in any arrangement imposed by victor or vanquished which ignores the principles of right and sets at defiance the historic traditions, aspirations, and liberties of the peoples affected. Such so-called treaties contain within themselves their own death warrant and simply provide fertile breeding ground for future wars.

We have a crucial example of the folly and futility of such a transaction in the treaty of 1871. That act of high-handed, short-sighted violence, against which Europe ought to have protested, is the primary cause of the race in armaments,

which proceeded at an ever-accelerated pace for forty years before the outbreak of this war.

Mr. Asquith said that both Bismarck and von Moltke foresaw the evil conse-

quences of the treaty, von Moltke asserting that Germany must be armed to the teeth for fifty years to keep the provinces won in six months.

America's View Expressed Through the League of National Unity

President Wilson's attitude toward the German peace agitation, as expressed in his reply to the Pope, was reiterated Oct. 8 at Washington in an address by him at the White House to the newly organized League of National Unity. The President gave his indorsement to the purposes of the league in an address emphasizing the need of team play by the forces of American thought and opinion. He expressed the belief that American public opinion, although understanding the war's causes and principles, needed guidance to remember that the war should end only when Germany was beaten and Germany's rule of autocracy and might superseded by the ideals of democracy. The President gave warning that it should not be forgotten that German success would mean not only prevention of the spread of democracy, but possibly the suppression of that already existing.

The aims of the new league are "to "create a medium through which loyal "Americans of all classes, sections, "creeds, and parties can give expression "to the fundamental purpose of the "United States to carry on to a success- "ful conclusion this new war for the "dependence of America and for the "preservation of democratic institutions "and the vindication of the basic prin- "ciples of humanity." The league's initial announcement continues:

In this crisis the unity of the American people must not be impaired by the voices of dissension, of sedition. Agitation for a premature peace is seditious when its object is to weaken the determination of America to see the war through to a conclusive vindication of the principles for which we have taken arms.

The war we are waging is a war against war and its sacrifices must not be nullified by any truce or armistice that means no more than a breathing spell for the enemy.

We believe in the wise purpose of the President not to negotiate a peace with any irresponsible and autocratic dynasty.

We approve the action of the National Government in dispatching an expeditionary force to the land of Lafayette and Rochambeau. Either we fight the enemy on foreign soil, shoulder to shoulder with comrades in arms, or we fight on our soil, backs against our homes, and alone.

While this war lasts, the cause of the Allies is our cause, their defeat our defeat, and concert of action and unity in spirit between them and us is essential to final victory. We therefore deprecate the exaggeration of old national prejudices—often stimulated by German propaganda—and nothing is more important than the clear understanding that those who in this crisis attack our present allies, attack America.

We are organized in the interests of a national accord that rises high above any previous division of party, race, creed, and circumstance.

We believe that this is the critical and fateful hour for America and for civilization. To lose now is to lose for many generations. The peril is great and requires our highest endeavors. If defeat comes to us through any weakness, Germany, whose purposes for worldwide dominion are now revealed, might draw to itself, as a magnet does the filings, the residuum of world power, and this would affect the standing and the independence of America.

We not only accept but heartily approve the decision reached by the President and Congress of the United States to declare war against the common enemy of the free nations, and as loyal citizens of the United States we pledge to the President and the Government our undivided support to the very end.

The Honorary Chairmen of the league are Cardinal Gibbons, Frank Mason North, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, and Theodore N. Vail, President American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The Vice Chairmen are Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; Charles

A. Barrett, President Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and George Pope, President National

Association of Manufacturers. Director, Ralph M. Easley, Chairman National Civic Federation.

Premier Painlevé on Alsace-Lorraine and the Only Peace France Will Accept

The following official declaration in the Chamber on Sept. 18, representing the views of the French Government, expresses the minimum aims of France and discloses the irreconcilable attitude of France and Germany with respect to Alsace-Lorraine. The statements on this subject made in the Reichstag by the German Chancellor and Foreign Minister, as given elsewhere, are in direct opposition to those of France, making Alsace-Lorraine the present storm centre of the issues of the war. M. Painlevé said:

No enemy manoeuvre, no individual weaknesses can turn France from her unshakable determination. That determination she draws from the purest traditions of our race—those generous principles of liberty which the Revolution sowed among the peoples and which today bring together the civilized universe against German imperialism. If France pursues this war it is neither for conquest nor vengeance. It is to defend her own liberty, her independence, and at the same time the liberty and independence of the world. Her claims are those of right; they are even independent of the issue of battles. She proclaimed them solemnly in 1871 when she was beaten. She proclaims them today when she is making the aggressor feel the weight of her arms.

The disannexation of Alsace-Lorraine, reparation for the damage and ruin wrought by the enemy, and a peace which shall not be a peace of constraint or violence, containing in itself the germ of future wars, but a just peace, in which no people, whether strong or weak, shall be oppressed, a peace in which effective guarantees shall protect the society of nations against all aggression on the part of one among them—these are the noble war aims of France, if one can speak of war aims when it is a question of a nation which, during forty-four years, despite her open wounds, has done everything in order to spare humanity the horrors of war.

As long as these aims are not reached France will continue to fight. To prolong the war one day more than necessary would indeed be to commit the greatest crime in history, but to stop it a day too

soon would be to deliver France into the most degrading servitude, to a moral and material misery from which nothing would ever deliver her.

That is what each soldier in our trenches, each worker, each peasant in his factory or in his furrow, knows. It is that which causes the indissoluble union of the country through all its trials; it is that which is the secret of that discipline in liberty which victoriously combats the ferocious brutality of German discipline. This discipline, springing from reason and mutual confidence, previous Governments have maintained for three years of war, and the present Government has no conception of any other.

But it is not only the will of the country that must be directed to this single aim of the war. We must direct to it also all our material forces. National defense is an entity which is not to be split up into fragments. Men, munitions, supply, transport, are all problems to which isolated solutions cannot be supplied, for they are interdependent. We can only cope with them by means of a vast effort of co-ordination and synthesis which, comparing the various needs and possibilities, will be able to secure the increase of production, the imposition of indispensable restrictions, the stoppage of speculation and of the rise in prices by putting at the disposal of the nation herself all the resources which she commands.

It is a difficult program that the Government will set itself to carry out, making private interests yield to the general interest, but it is aware of the fact that it is the nation itself in its conscious spirit of patriotism that can make the effort which shall count for most when the safety of the country is at stake. Who, then, would hesitate to impose on himself the necessary sacrifices, trying enough, but so light compared with the sufferings of our soldiers?

This necessary co-ordination of the forces of the country is no less imperative between the Allies, fighting together yesterday or today, brought together by the same holy cause. It is necessary that they act as though they constituted a single nation, a single army, and a single front for the defeat of the one would be the defeat of all, just as the victory of the one will be the victory of all. All must equally contribute of their men, their arms, and their money. On this condition

only the superiority of their resources, still too scattered, will become crushing. Such a policy will allow France, without completely exhausting herself, to meet at once her economic needs and guard her frontiers. Since August, 1914, the French Army has been the invincible shield of civilization. Her blood has been shed in torrents. It is necessary for the happy issue of the war that she should keep to the end the plenitude of her vigor.

The problems of war, however absorbing they may be, ought not to make us unmindful of after-war problems which otherwise might take us by surprise. The period which will follow the conclusion of hostilities must be prepared for a long while in advance, and with as much minute care as mobilization itself. To restore the reconquered districts; to prepare an extensive program of public works which will multiply our industrial forces

and regulate the return to normal life by avoiding crises of unemployment for the demobilized men; greatly to increase the production and credit of France; to associate the nation in the working of new industries; to prepare for the transformation to peace conditions of munition factories; to establish our fiscal system on just, bold, and well-thought-out taxes; to carry out loyally the recent reforms introduced into the relations between workmen and employers, so as to adapt these to practical conditions and to make them part of our social life—these are some of the dominating ideas which should guide the development of our ardent democracy. When, after these hard years of suffering, our soldiers return to their homes, to these conquerors who will have made right triumph among the nations, no one will grudge either gratitude or justice.

Written on Going Into Action

By ERNEST GARSIDE BLACK

[The author is one of the many Canadian college men at the front in France. He is a graduate of McMaster University, Toronto.]

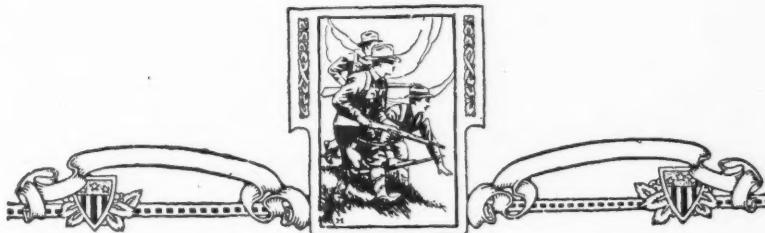
O God of Battles, now that time has come
Which in the pregnant months in camp has been
The goal of everything, my hope, my fear,
The peril of the thing as yet unseen.

That fear and wounds and death may pass me by,
Is not the boon, O Lord, for which I pray,
For having put the rim within my lips,
I do not ask to put the cup away.

But grant the heart that Thou hast given me
May in the hour of peril never fail,
And that my will to serve and do my part
May ever o'er my will to live prevail.

Thou knowest, Lord, my soul doth not fear death,
Although my body craves to live its span;
Help me to grapple with my body's fear,
And grant, O Lord, that I may play the man.

The Somme, Oct. 1, 1916.



Poland's Standard Again on the Field of Battle

By Waclaw Perkowski

AFTER a long absence from the field of battle—an interval of fifty-four years—the Polish standard, the white eagle on the red field, again appears on the battle line in the fight "for our liberty and yours." In the west, the Government of France has given its consent to the organization of an autonomous Polish Army; and in the east the Provisional Government of free Russia has followed suit. At last Poland takes her place in this war beside the allied powers as a nation fighting for her rights, for her independence, and for the reunion of all her territories in one Polish State in accordance with the military program of the Allies. She fights against the Central Powers, which, being today at war with the whole civilized world, are at the same time the sole oppressors of the Polish Nation.

In France the Poles had long worked to rouse the Government to the justice of consenting to the organization of a Polish Army; and on June 4, 1917, the following report, signed by the President of the Council of Ministers, (now the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexander Ribot,) and the Minister of War, (Paul Painlevé,) was submitted to the President of the French Republic:

The number of Poles already taking part in the struggle for the rights and liberty of peoples or capable of enrolling in the service of the cause of the Allies is sufficiently high to justify their union into one distinct corps. On the other hand, the intentions of the allied Governments, and in particular of the Russian Provisional Government, on the subject of the restoration of the Polish State could not be affirmed better than by permitting the Poles to fight everywhere under their national colors. Finally, we consider that France must hold it an honor to concur in the formation and development of a future Polish Army. The affinities that unite our two races and the affection the Poles have never ceased to testify to our country impose on us a moral obligation to participate in that touching and glorious mission. If you share this point of

view, we have the honor to ask you to affix your signature to the annexed decree.

Decree Creating Polish Army

The decree, which was signed by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, at Paris, on June 4, reads as follows:

Article 1. There is created in France, for the duration of the war, an autonomous Polish Army, placed under the orders of the French High Command and fighting under the Polish colors.

Art. 2. The raising and maintenance of the Polish Army are assured by the French Government.

Art. 3. The arrangements in force in the French Army concerning the organization, grades, administration, and military justice are applicable to the Polish Army.

Art. 4. The Polish Army shall be recruited (1) from among the Poles now serving in the French Army; (2) from among the Poles of other origin admitted to pass into the ranks of the Polish Army in France or to contract a voluntary engagement for the duration of the war under the standard of the Polish Army.

Art. 5. Further Ministerial instructions will regulate the application of the present decree.

Art. 6. The President of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of War are charged, each in what concerns him, to the execution of the present decree, which shall be published in the Official Journal of the French Republic and inserted in the *Bulletin des lois*, (Bulletin of Laws.)

For the formation of this Polish Army the Minister of War immediately created a Franco-Polish Military Mission, under the leadership of General Louis Archinard. The Government has authorized all Poles, even those who are French citizens and are serving in the French Army, to enlist in this new force, and it is seeking agreements with the other allies under which all Poles serving in their armies will be enabled to join the Polish Army.*

*Working in the United States in the interests of the Polish Army in France has been

Basis of the French Decree

In order to understand the political basis of the French decree calling to life the Polish Army, it is worth while to quote a few words from the appeal of the well-known Polish publicist and novelist, Waclaw Gasiorowski, addressed to the French in his *Polonia* of Paris on May 12:

The Polish question has obtained in the last months a complete and radical solution. There has been proclaimed the independence of Poland and the reunion in one State of all her territories. Poland, free and independent, will rise again in the plenitude of her former might and power. And yet dissatisfaction again has seized the Poles. But, before your lips open to condemn us, before you turn away from us and from our impudent reclamations, before you fetch a sigh with pious commiseration because of "the want of moderation of which the Poles give proof," listen to us.

Yes, Poland will be unified and independent; but, meanwhile, a new census of aliens has been decreed here in France; and we shall again be carried on the lists as Germans, Austrians, and Russians—nothing but that!

What, in short, do we Poles in the camp of the Allies desire? We desire that Poland may figure among the peoples that are fighting for the rights of man. We desire that the standard of the White Eagle should float beside the colors of those who have guaranteed us the liberation of our fatherland. We desire that our independence should be realized, that the unification of our territories should become an accomplished fact. We do not want to be impassive witnesses of this great struggle; we want to take part in it, we claim the rights that by just title belong to us as members of the Polish Nation.

Let our fatherland, invaded by the enemy, at length learn that without waiting for any international pacts, accords, and

a mission composed of Waclaw Gasiorowski, Prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, and others, and Henry Franklin Bouillon, who was recently called back to France to enter the new Cabinet of his friend Prime Minister Painlevé. The campaign to recruit Poles in this country for the Polish Army training in France has been indorsed by the United States War Department, according to a dispatch from Washington of Oct. 6. Polish-Americans subject to draft and those with dependents will not be accepted. Recruits will be trained at a camp already established by Polish interests near Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

treaties, the Polish colors are already flying under the protective wing of the Entente. Let it know that the work of the restoration of Poland has already been initiated; that we Poles have at length been recognized as well here, in France, as in America, in England, in Russia, and in Italy, as free citizens of free and unified Poland.

Upon the publication of the decree by President Poincaré for the formation of the Polish Army in France, the same writer said in the *Polonia*:

The days of our impotence have ended! The holiest longings of those who would fight for the independence, for the reunion of the fatherland torn to pieces, have been realized. The idea of a self-active, national Polish Army in France has turned to fact. We greet this fact with tears of joy; we greet it as the recompense for our unwavering faith in the indissolubility of the ties of fraternity uniting Poland and France for ages; we greet it as the dawn of our resurrection to liberty, to power, to rebirth. * * *

The Polish Army in France will be an "autonomous" army, or a national Polish Army. This army will stand under the Polish standard, will have the Polish command, Polish uniforms, Polish officers, and will take the oath to unified and independent Poland. * * * This army will be created on democratic principles worthy of the traditions of our chief, the immortal Kosciusko, worthy of the republican land in which it has been conceived. The emblem of the White Eagle will shed its rays on all alike; it will respect the citizen in the soldier, and measure privileges by personal merit.

The Polish Army in France will be the symbol of our fatherland, one and inseparable forever. * * * Like the sun, which dries up the puddles after the heavy shower of the night, so the Polish Army will absorb all that over which till now there has weighed the curse of vassalage, the subjection to different States, the wandering over the world, the misery of our people. The Polish Army in France will reunite in its ranks, in the first place, all those who here, in the west, are scattered in different regiments, divisions, and armies. These hosts will form a base; and about this kernel there will group itself an energetic, numerically large, morally powerful, nationally incorruptible force called to play a part of great reach in the history of our country. Such will be the Polish Army in France!

Polish Army in Russia

In Russia the principle of the independence of Poland necessitated the constitution of a Polish Army completely autonomous, commanded by Polish offi-

cers, and fighting under the Polish national standard. In view of the proclamation by the Russian Provisional Government of an independent and unified Poland and of the appointment of the Liquidation Commission, which is to liquidate all the interests of Poland with Russia, the cause of a separate Polish Army in Russia and the exclusion of the Polish troops from the general Russian Army had to come by the very force of events. Almost immediately upon the proclamation to the Poles by the Provisional Government of free Russia a meeting of Polish soldiers in the Russian Army was held in Minsk, at which resolutions were adopted calling for the creation of an autonomous Polish Army. The idea of creating a Polish Army out of the Poles "dispersed in the sea of Russian troops" took root very quickly in the Polish community in Russia. Letters began to pour in numerously to the Polish papers in Russia from Polish officers and soldiers, and expression was given to this by all organizations of military Poles called to life in various parts of Russia by the example of the Polish Military Union, which arose in Moscow on April 11 and declared for the creation of a Polish Army. On June 13 a Congress of Delegates of Military Poles in session in Petrograd resolved, by an overwhelming majority, that the Government of free Russia should without delay proceed to the reunion of the military Poles scattered over the vast territories of the Russian State in a distinct military unit under Polish leaders and a Russian commander in chief.

The Russians themselves early accounted for the necessity of realizing this urgent problem; and the Congress of Delegates of Russian Workmen and Soldiers, held at Minsk, decided upon the formation of a Polish Army. At length, on July 17, the Russian Chief General Staff ordered that the Polish soldiers desiring to enter the Polish Army should be grouped in separate divisions and sent where the Polish Army is forming—the Government had permitted the Poles to create a distinct Polish Army with its own staff and under the supreme command of a Russian commander. Up to

the middle of July there had enlisted in this Polish Army 320,000 soldiers, and the number increased after the promulgation of the order of the General Staff of July 17.

Motives of the Movement

What motives governed the organizers of the Polish Army in Russia is shown by the organ of the Division of Polish Officers and Soldiers, the Polish *Wiadomosci Wojskowe* (Military Intelligence) of Kiev, when it says:

A united Poland the Central Powers will not give us voluntarily, because the restoration of the Grand Duchy of Posen, Silesia, and West Prussia is the overthrow of the Prussian State. It is a matter here of a struggle for life or death. The breed of Teutonic knights lording it over our land will not cede our liberty voluntarily. Therefore, we bind our hopes to the victory of the Entente, in whose triumph we believe sacredly. The Entente sets forth the standard of liberty and self-determination of nations, under which we stand as a people; and displaying the standard of an independent and unified Poland, it unites the whole Polish Nation, without regard to the cordons that at present separate us. For these two standards, the common and the Polish, raised by the Entente, we want to fight and will fight faithfully to our last drop of blood. Therefore, we recognize the Polish Army as the symbol of Polish Statehood and as an indispensable factor in the ranks of the Entente coalition in the conquest of the independence and unification of Poland, which is possible only after the abolition of Prussian militarism.

To Raise 500,000 Men

The cadres of the Polish Army in Russia are already complete, and all that remains is to exclude the Poles from the Russian Army. Of lack of trained material for the Polish Army there can be no complaint, for the Poles in the Russian Army have always been reckoned as numbering between 800,000 and 1,000,000. Competent persons affirm that the distinct Polish Army in Russia can reach 500,000 men. In the Russian Army there are a great many very capable Polish officers, but very few superior officers. The reason for this, says the Paris *Polonia*, is that twenty-five years ago there was promulgated a secret order that interdicted, save in excep-

tional cases, the nomination of Poles to grades superior to that of Captain; and at that time the higher military schools were also closed to the Poles.

Three hundred Polish officers taken by Russia from Austria early informed the Council of the Polish Military Union in the Moscow garrison that they were willing to enter the Polish Army, and declared that the 3,000 Polish officers of the Austrian Army in Russian captivity would undoubtedly fulfill their national duty.

The Polish standards bearing the slogan "For Our Liberty and Yours" captured from the Poles by the Russians in the revolution of 1830-31, and held since that time in the Kremlin at Moscow, were delivered with due solemnity on April 21 on the order of the Russian Minister of War and the Russian Premier by the commandant of the Moscow troops to Alexander Lednicki, the Presi-

dent of the Liquidation Commission, (one of the tasks of which is the preserving of the national property which is now being restored to the Polish Nation;) and were conveyed with great honors to Kiov, where they were deposited with reverence in the Church of St. Alexander under guard of the Division of Polish Rifles.

"If the Poles create their separate army, which in union with the Russian Army will expel the Germans, there must come the recognition of this militant unit by all the Allies. But an army without a Government, separate and directing that army, cannot exist," observes the Polish *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* (Alliance Daily) of Chicago. "Consequently, there must also come the recognition of a legitimate Government of united and independent Poland, which, by the nature of things, must rise beyond the bounds of Poland."

Paderewski's Appeal to His Countrymen

The National Department of the Polish Central Relief Committee of Chicago, whose Chairman is I. J. Paderewski, the pianist, issued an appeal on Oct. 6, 1917, calling upon unnaturalized Poles in the United States to enlist under the Polish standard. The document is in part as follows:

Providence has decreed that on the centennial of the death of Thaddeus Kosciusko there arises a Polish national army upon the Continent where he so valiantly fought for freedom. France has given life to this army and has offered her aid and support. France does not require the sacrifice of Polish blood. She can prevail without our humble aid. Over 5,000,000 men now fight in her defense.

France, the leader of civilization, like Poland, a frequent defender of the oppressed, is concerned chiefly that in this struggle of light against darkness, right against might, democracy against autocracy, all liberty-loving peoples may participate.

Larger and smaller nations are already engaged, and now the United States of America has joined France and her allies. Should, in this struggle for the freedom

of nations, the Polish colors be missing it would be shameful.

Conscious of our sacred duty to the motherland, conscious of our obligations to America, we have long waited for this opportunity, with a full sense of our responsibility before God, the nation, and our own consciences. Today, having received assurances of protection, having received a favorable declaration by the United States Government that enlistment into the Polish Army of all those who are not legally subject to draft in the United States Army shall not be opposed, we call to you from the bottom of our hearts and challenge you to the ranks, to army, to battle, to the trenches, to a great and glorious struggle for the protection of threatened humanity, for the wrongs suffered by Poland.

Go, so the world may know that in your breast the knightly valor of your forefathers has not been stilled; that the fearless bravery of the Poles of old has not vanished.

Go, to give testimony that the American Pole is a worthy heir to the glory of Polish arms.

On the same day the United States had authorized this separate recruiting for the Polish Army.

The Rise and Fall of the Formal Fortress

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts

"Still the most reliable fortress for a country is a good and well-commanded army and a well-educated, brave, and intelligent population."—Viollet le Duc.

ONE great proved fact in the present war has been the uselessness of the formal fortress in the military result. Formal fortresses had been made important factors in the pre-war military calculations, because of the imaginary strength that had been assigned to them. In reality they were an empty threat. Yet this threat so influenced the plans of the German Great General Staff that the invasion of France was deliberately planned through neutral Belgium rather than through the French fortresses.*

The result was that the initial German superiority was frittered away in Belgium, and the surprise of the all-conquering Teutonic howitzer artillery was wasted on outlying fortresses. To this extent the French fortresses had an important tactical effect upon the military results of the war without firing a shot, but this was the end of their value in warfare. In the few short weeks before the battle of the Marne the uselessness of formal fortresses had become so self-evident that they were replaced by Petersburg intrenchments, and the lesson learned in four years of our civil war was at last grasped by European military experts.

The progress of the art of formal fortification is as interesting as the end of such fortresses has been dramatic and astounding. The formal fortress had its beginning in the primitive need to protect families and goods. From the first herding together in places easy of defense to the elaborated systems of European military science, the different phases of the formal fortress reflect the

conditions of the times as well as any landmarks in history.

Viollet le Duc's Great Work

A great master of the art of fortification has left a record of this progress of a formal fortress from its first primitive form to the typical fortress of his day. Viollet le Duc was a great architect of the Second Empire, and to this talent he "added the highest qualifications of the military engineer."** His book is now little known except to military students, but in his "Histoire d'une Forteresse" he has described with great vividness the growth of a French fortress from the first occupation of a stronghold in the tribal migrations.

For obvious military reasons Viollet le Duc did not select any definite fortress, but he described a typical site, and traced the development of a typical fortress of his day. This will be followed to his conclusion, (1875,) but his final proposed system of fortification is so like Verdun, the fortress most in the public mind in this war, that, in continuing the story of the fortress to its final stage the actual conditions at Verdun will be described.

In Figure 1 is shown the first refuge chosen by the tribal migration of a fair-haired Northern race in France, an elevated promontory on a river among wooded hills. The occupation of this place by the strangers was peaceful, and many of the inhabitants of the surrounding country joined them in their settlement; but, as these Gauls prospered, forays were made upon them and they were much harried and plundered. At length the elders of the tribe ordered the "Oppidum" built, as shown on the plan.

This was a rampart of logs and earth with a parapet of stakes fixed by osier bands and pierced with loopholes. The

*"The Moltke of 1870," &c. CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1917.

**Bucknall.

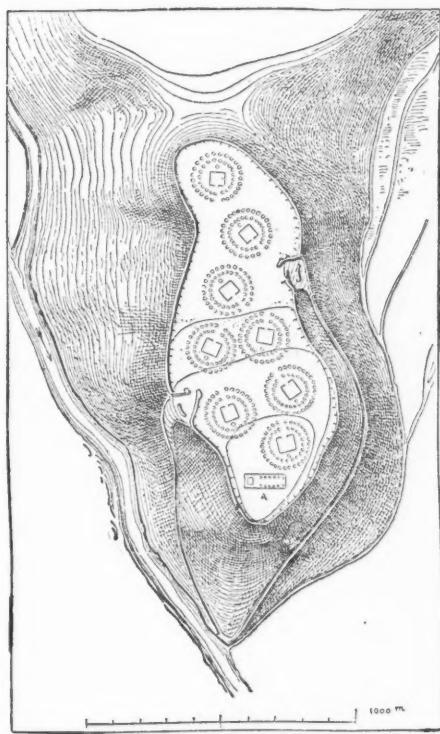


FIG. 1—THE OPPIDUM

rampart encircled the crown of the promontory, and, helped by the slope, made a strong defense against an assault. The inclosure was approached by two roads that circled the plateau, exposed to missiles of the defenders from the ramparts. The two gates were also well defended. Within were tribal houses, as shown in the plan, and the Némède, the Druid inclosed temple, (A.) This Oppidum was the first phase of the formal fortress, and it will be observed that in the Némède was the beginning of what was later to be the keep or citadel.

At first there was no regular garrison of the Oppidum. It was guarded in turn by the young men, who relieved one another every twenty-four hours, and it was a refuge from attacks for the people. But in the fourth century B. C. many of the Gauls had been engaged in foreign wars, and a warrior class began to grow up among them. Raids and wars increased among the tribes, and the trained warriors were needed more and more to defend the Oppidum. Finally,

after a costly invasion, when the Oppidum was only saved by bringing in fighting men from another tribe, the warriors arrogated for themselves the control of the Oppidum and demanded contributions from the inhabitants in return for their protection. The people were forced to agree to give one day's labor in four and one-fourth of their crops and cattle to their defenders; and, as time went on, these became hereditary rights, resulting in the rule of the chiefs and their warriors in the Gallic Citées.

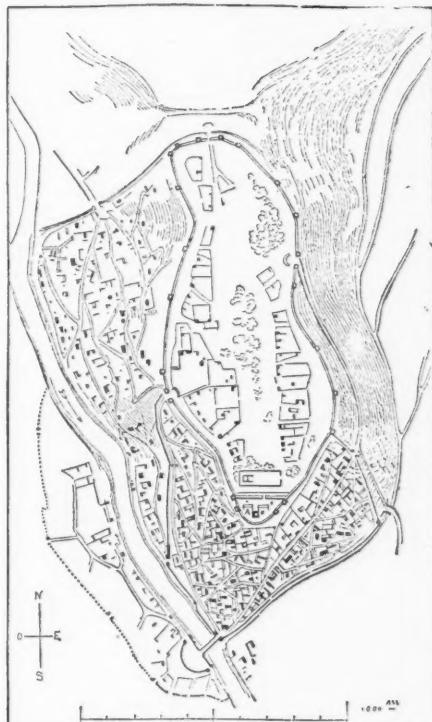


FIG. 2—THE GALlic CITE, 58 B. C.

Forts in Caesar's Time

The Gallic Cité was the second stage of the formal fortress. (Figure 2.) It will be seen that the Cité is the Oppidum, made much stronger for defense. The ramparts had been reinforced with stone and towers had been built along the ramparts, as shown in the plan. The town straggled along the slopes of the promontory, and a part of it was on the other side of the river, which was crossed by a stone bridge. It will be seen that

the bridge was protected by a tête de pont, which was also built of stone.

The rule of the Chiefs and the warrior caste, which had been created by the defenders of the Oppidum, had become absolute and their tax upon the people had become a vested right; yet the inhabitants themselves were more prosperous, because the contributions levied upon them by the Chief were not as oppressive as losses from plundering invaders. This was the condition of the fortress at the time of Caesar's Gallic wars. The Chief of the Cité, like other Gallic chieftains, had aided the Helvetii, and a punitive expedition was sent against him by the Roman General.

The Chief defied this army, and the Cité promptly received a lesson in the besieging tactics of the day from the Romans, who were very skillful in reducing fortresses. The Roman legate first invested all approaches of the place, and prepared for an assault upon the Cité by cutting a great quantity of wood on the northern plateau and bringing it in front of the northern ramparts.

With this wood and earth he threw up a typical Roman agger, a mound of logs and earth, opposite the ramparts of the besieged. Approaching this the Romans built two covered galleries and a movable tower. This last they rolled to the top of the agger against the rampart, and by attacking from the tower won the main defenses of the Cité.

The Chief of the Cité, with his surviving warriors, took refuge in the stronghold beyond the Némède (A) in the southern end of the Cité. This the Roman legate easily carried, by filling the ditch with faggots and earth, and advancing his legionaries under linked shields, (a testudo,) and the fortress of 58 B. C. had succumbed to the advanced siege methods of the day.

Permanent Roman Camp

After his final victory over the Gauls at Alesia (52 B. C.) Caesar gave orders for the establishment of a permanent Roman camp on the site of the Cité; and this was the next stage in the progress of the fortress. (Figure 3.) It will

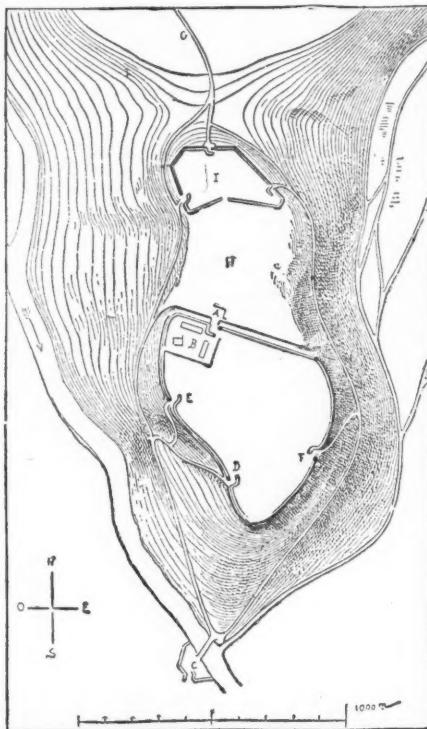


FIG. 3—THE PERMANENT ROMAN CAMP

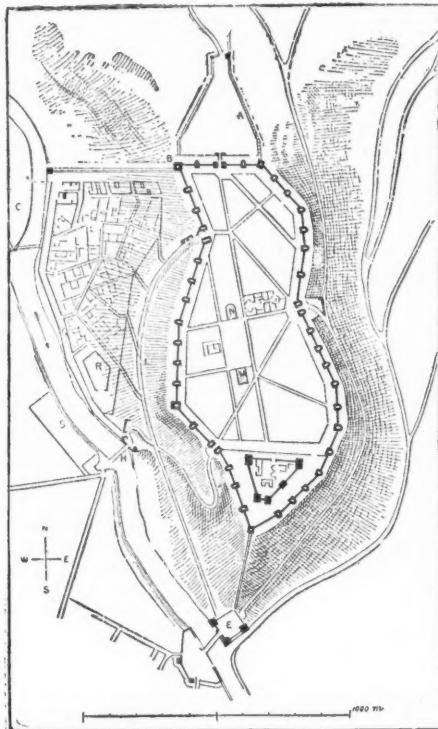


FIG. 4—THE GALLO-ROMAN CITE

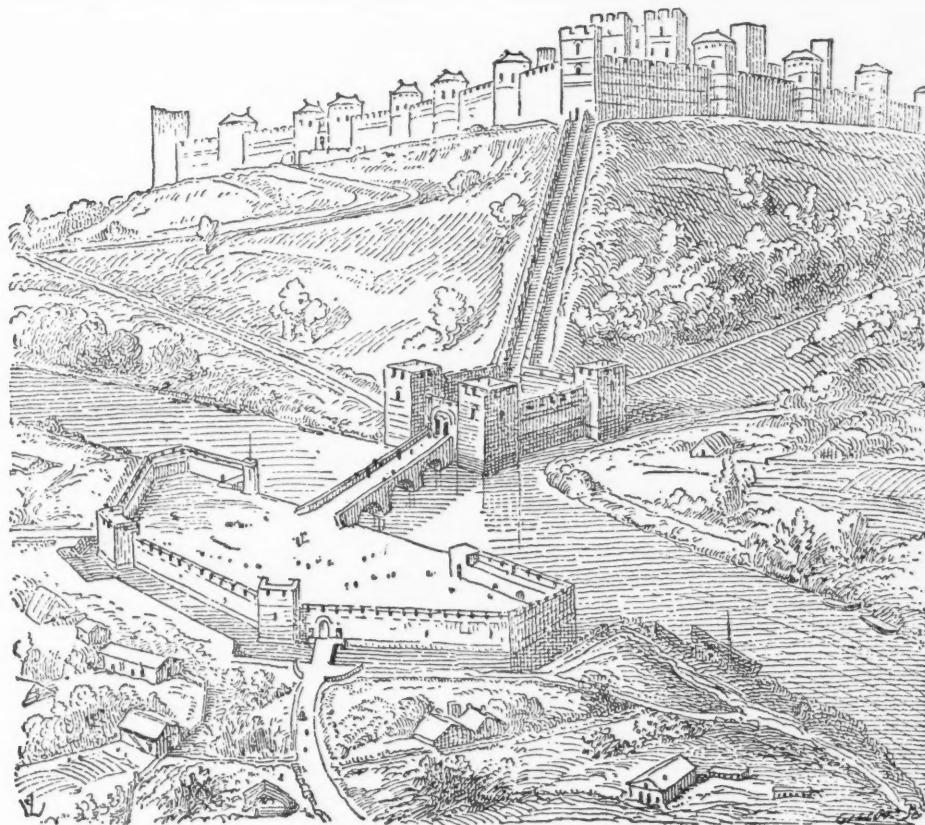


FIG. 5—THE GALLO-ROMAN CITE AS FORTIFIED BY THE ROMAN EMPEROR JULIAN, A. D. 359

be seen that the town was blotted out, and that on the site of the Cité was built this stern fortified camp, which was a charge upon the people to keep in repair, and to be always ready for the use of the Roman Legions. After generations, when the surrounding country had become tranquil, the Roman Camp became a Roman Colony, enjoying peace and prosperity for three centuries.

In 359 A. D. the Roman Emperor Julian found it again necessary to fortify the place against the Germans, and the formal fortress entered another stage of its existence as a Gallo-Roman Cité. (Figure 4.)

Julian had then about him Byzantine engineers, the most skilled in the world in fortifying places. They began by removing the houses that had been built on the slopes of the plateau in times of peace, thus restoring all the military ad-

vantage of the slope, as in the Roman Camp. The ramparts were of well-founded masonry with stone towers. The northern exposed front was made longer, with a fosse and palisades, and a vallum and outwork, (A.) The gates, tête de pont, &c., were protected by strong towers, and the Cité thus fortified (Figure 5) was able to defy the barbarians, who did not know how to undertake the siege of a well-defended place.

In the twelfth century the fortress had become a feudal castle, (Figure 6,) and in 1180 the Baron decided to greatly strengthen its defenses. He sent for a master of the works—a native of Troyes, whom he had known in Palestine—and together they devised the stronghold shown in Figure 7.

This great increase in the strength of the Castle aroused the jealousy of the Baron's over-lord, the Duke of Burgundy,



FIG. 7—BIRDSEYE VIEW OF THE FEUDAL CASTLE, 1180 A. D.

who seized upon a pretext for a quarrel, and moved to attack the Castle with his army. The Baron prepared for defense, but sent a secret message for help to King Philip Augustus of France. The siege that followed used all the resources of that most picturesque age of warfare, and it is interesting to record as the last test of the fortress before the use of gunpowder.

The Baron had only 1,800 men and he could not hope to defend the whole pla-

teau, but only the castle. This the Duke completely invested, closing the bridges and building an intrenchment or contravallation across the plateau north of the castle. On each end of this contravallation the besiegers built a wooden tower. The Baron, who had brought the secret of Greek fire from the East, promptly destroyed one of these towers in the night by hurling Greek fire from his largest trebuchet, following this with a sortie of the garrison, which inflicted

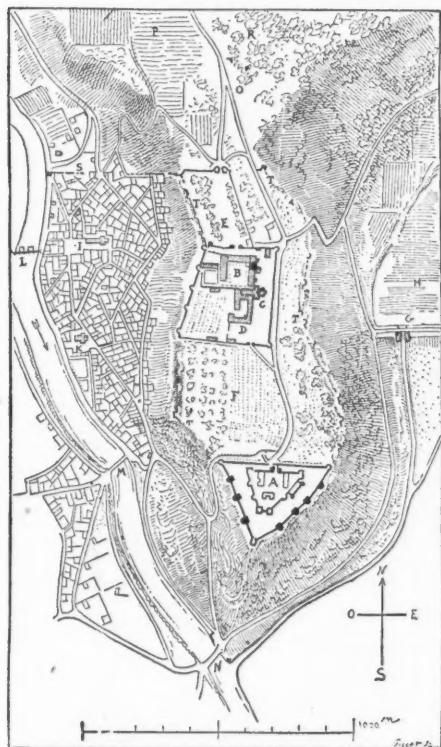


FIG. 6—THE FEUDAL CASTLE

great loss in the confusion caused by the fire.

The besiegers retaliated by bringing up trebouchets and mangonels, which forced the garrison to give up the barbican. The besiegers then brought up a cat, a movable wooden gallery, under which they mined the wall and battered it down with a bosson, gaining the outer court after days of bloody fighting.

The besieged had destroyed a huge new movable tower with their Greek fire—thus giving the old fortress revenge for the Roman movable tower which had captured it over 1,200 years before—and the garrison was still holding out manfully after more than forty days of siege, when the place was relieved by the approach of the French King's army.

The Coming of Gunpowder

In the next 200 years the fortress had been compelled to face new conditions. (Figure 8.) A new force had appeared, and the first awkward attempts to defend against artillery with artillery were in

evidence. But it also must be remembered that the first artillery imitated the trebouchet of the mediaeval siege, and for attack and defense there was not yet any change in methods brought about by the new weapon.

The masonry walls were much more massive, and, as will be seen in the plan, new strong towers had been built projecting from the walls. These were devised with great pains and misdirected ingenuity to contain the new artillery. Clumsy as were the resultant works, these artillery towers were the ancestors of the bastion.

In a month's siege, sustained by the fortress at this stage by the army of Louis XI. of France, (1478,) the artillery of both parties is thus described:

	Veug- laires,	Bom- bards.	Spi- roles.
Attack on the northern boulevard	4		2
Battery on the slopes of the eastern hills.....		2	4
Before the tête du pont.....			4
On the western slopes of the plateau commanding the lower town ..			2
Park of reserve.....	6		12
		—	—
Total	12		24

The artillery of the besieged consisted of:

	Bom- bards.	Cul- verins.
On the platforms of the three great northern towers.....	3	3
In the casemated batteries of these towers.....		6
On the earthwork in front of the northern boulevard.....		2
On the northern boulevard.....	1	2
On the boulevards B, C, H, I, K. 5		5
On the cavalier commanding the bridge	1	2
Reserve in the abbey and the castle	4	8
	—	—
Totals	14	28

Pathetically feeble as this array seems today for the attack and defense of a first-class fortress, these cannon were the most formidable artillery of their time. It is also shown on a scale plan that the first long-distance bombardment was opened at less than 250 meters, and it is stated that certain guns were to be reserved for use at close quarters! Consequently, it is no surprise to learn that

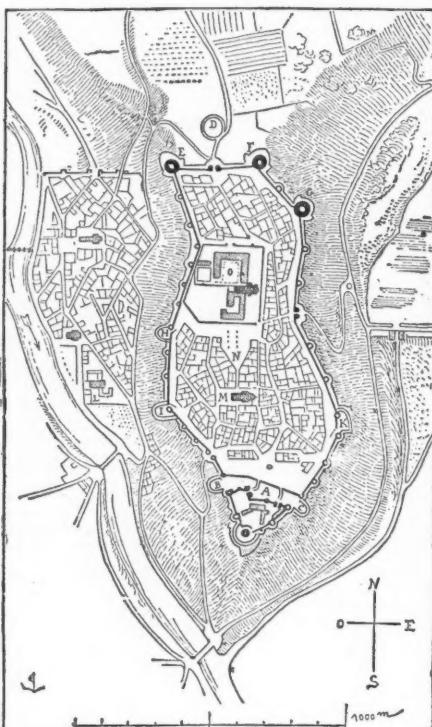


FIG. 8—THE FIRST DEFENSES AGAINST ARTILLERY

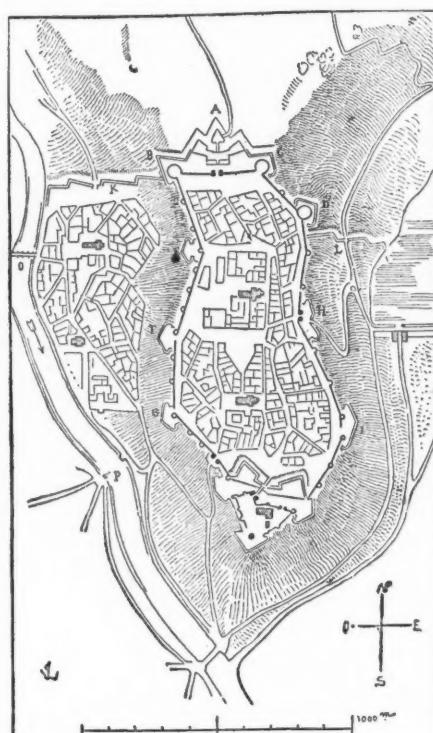


FIG. 9—THE BASTIONS OF BAR-LE-DUC

this siege was almost a repetition of the siege of the feudal castle, with these primitive cannon taking the place of the stone-throwing machines.

These cannon threw large stones, some of them of 200 pounds weight, and, though they caused greater losses to the besiegers, they also were more destructive to masonry defenses at close quarters, and they made it easier to undermine the walls. The northern outwork, the boulevard at D in the plan, was first reduced, then the tower and northern rampart at E were battered in, and the last refuge of the garrison at A was surrendered twenty-seven days after the first investment.

Artillery and the Bastion

In the seventeenth century engineers were beginning to learn the use of the new artillery arm. It became evident that, against this more powerful machine, the weakness of a formal fortress lay in allowing the enemy to get near

enough to breach the walls. The next phase of the fortress, (Figure 9,) designed by Bar-le-Duc in the reign of Henry IV., marked the appearance of the bastion instead of the artillery tower, which greatly increased the area of defensive artillery. On the north the boulevard and towers had been replaced by bastions, and by this means the enemy was forced to begin operations at 1,000 yards. It is hard to realize that in those days 1,000 yards was not an effective range for artillery.

In 1636 these defenses successfully resisted an attempt to besiege them by the Imperialist troops, using trench approaches, which afterward became so highly developed in siege warfare. But the fortress was well commanded, and the attacking army, badly led and ill-disciplined, was ordered to raise the siege after four weeks of useless effort.

The next stage of the fortress (Figure 10) shows the highest development of the bastion by the great French en-

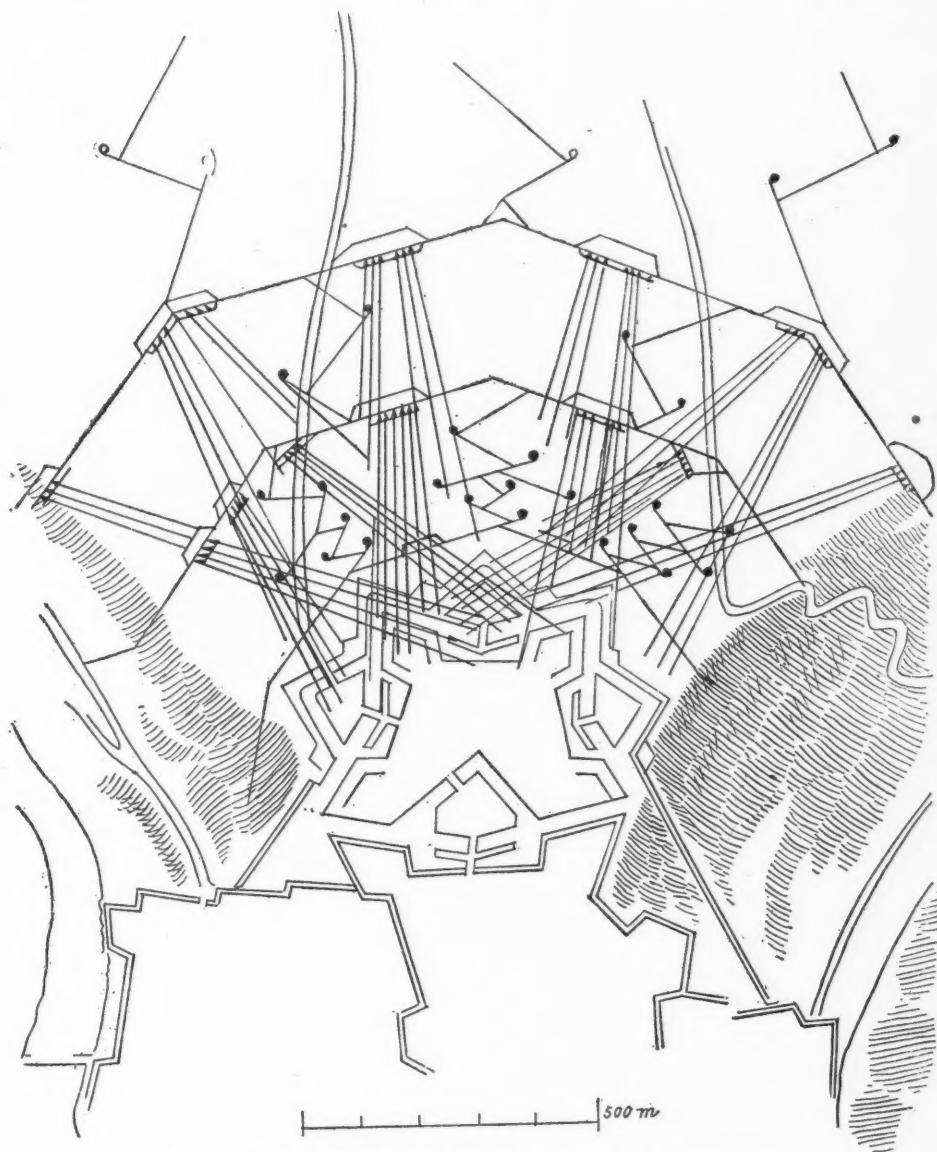


FIG. 11—THE SCIENTIFIC ATTACK ON VAUBAN DEFENSES

gineer, Vauban, who dominated the schools of fortification far into the nineteenth century. It will be seen at once how greatly the area of the artillery fire of the fortress was increased.

Figure 11 is a plan of the recognized attack on these Vauban works, which became the standard of European sieges. The trench approaches, placing of batteries, and successive advances to the

first, second, and third parallels are plainly shown. Following these approaches the final stage of a siege was still a breach and an assault, as in the attack on the feudal castle. These defenses and these prescribed methods of attack became accepted elements in warfare, and each fortress had its assigned strength and well defined amount of force and time necessary to reduce it.

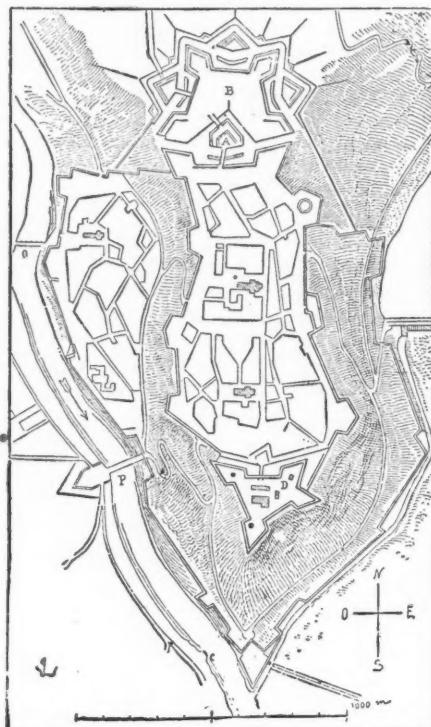


FIG. 10—VAUBAN'S DEFENSES

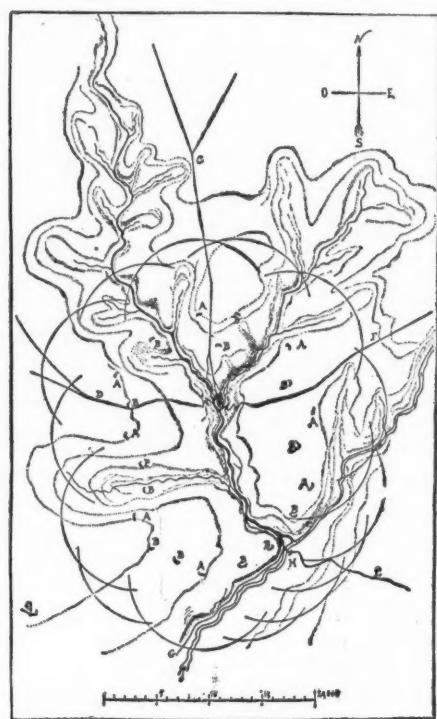


FIG. 12—THE ENCEINTE AND CHAIN OF FORTS

The siege of Sebastopol (1854) first upset all these accepted methods. This was a weak fortress, and it was thought that it would fall "after a short cannonade."* It unexpectedly withstood a siege of 349 days because the great Russian engineer, Todleben, made a bold use of "improvised defenses."†

Chain of External Forts

Of course these defenses approached the recent solution of the problem of fortification; but this was obscured by criticism of the attack, just as the actual solution at Petersburg, ten years later, was ignored in the first mistaken criticism of our civil war. At first there was so strong an impression abroad of a war of undisciplined mobs fighting against one another that the real results of the civil war in finding the best weapons and methods were not realized until the present war.

The rifled gun had so greatly increased

the range of artillery that, even in the formal European schools, it became evident that the bastion should be pushed forward and made an outwork of the fortress. This was the origin of the later plan of the chain of external forts. Viollet le Duc, among others, had urged this upon the French Emperor, but in the atrophy and official demoralization of the Second Empire little was done, and the French fortresses were an easy prey in the war of 1870. The Germans reduced most of the French fortresses at their leisure by bombardment. Verdun, which was then of the type of fortress shown in Figure 10, a bastioned enceinte with a Vauban citadel, fell after forty-three days.

Figure 12 shows Viollet le Duc's final scheme for the formal fortress, the enceinte and surrounding chain of forts and batteries. It will be seen at once that this was the plan of Verdun at the outbreak of the present war. But something more than this arrangement of

* Hamley.

† Sir George Clarke.

forts had given to the fortress the reputation of strength that scared away the first German attack in 1914.

Revolution Due to Howitzers

What made the empty threat effective was the artificial value that had been assigned to the new use of concrete and steel in the construction of the formal fortresses. So highly were these recent fortresses esteemed, as an adjunct of defending armies, that the German Great General Staff had not been able to realize the tremendous power over them of their howitzer artillery. So revolutionary was this weapon that it is not strange its effectiveness was not considered sufficient to upset all the calculations of years.

Only as recently as 1907 Sir Edward Clarke, the leading British expert, had declared that "the idea of breaching hidden casements by planting shells successively on a few square yards of area may evidently be dismissed as futile." Yet this is exactly what the Teutonic howitzer artillery has accomplished against all formal fortresses attacked by it. Every steel and concrete fort has proved to be a pent-house of destruction after a few of these deadly shells have

been dropped upon it. At once this became so evident, from the experience of Liège, Namur, &c., that in September, 1914, Verdun and the other French fortresses were intrenched, and became merely sectors of the Petersburg intrenchments which are now strung along the western front.

The chains of forts have been dismantled, and at the battle of Verdun in 1916 Verdun was no longer a fortress. It was nothing but the name of a system of trenches. Yet the name in the French mind meant the prestige of France, and for its defense they made the desperate stand that beat back the German attacks. The position in itself was of no more value than any other system of trenches.

It will be remembered that Fort Douaumont and Fort Vaux were no longer forts, but merely places in the lines of trenches. The great guns are no longer mounted in definite places. They are now scattered about on railway and caterpillar mounts, with every device of concealment and camouflage. The terrain is now a labyrinth of pits and trenches, with nothing left of the formal fortress. The whole structure of twenty-five hundred years has been overthrown in a few months.

What France Is Doing for Serbians

France, torn as it is by war, is supporting and giving refuge to 200,000 Belgians, furnishing them with the same kind of quarters as those allotted to French refugees from occupied territory; it has likewise gathered in many Serbians driven from their homes by the invader, and has set about preparing for the restoration of their unhappy kingdom by giving to Serbian youth the education best suited to the needs of national renaissance. A treaty signed at Corfu on Nov. 9, 1916, which the French Parliament has ratified, gives an official organization to this fraternal enterprise. It regulates the distribution of the young men among the universities and French normal schools, and arranges for the Serbian Government's nomination of Serbian professors to teach the literature, language, and history of their country. The treaty also provides for instruction of French students by these Serbian professors, exempts a certain number of Serbian students from the educational laws, and appropriates funds for their maintenance. This treaty is valid for three years and can be renewed for similar periods by tacit continuation.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, N. G. N. Y.; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

IX.—The Battle of the Somme

THE opening of 1916 was an anxious period for the Allies. France had held fast at Verdun against the most terrific attacks, but gradually the assailants pressed in closer, until at the end of May it seemed that even the heroic devotion of that marvelous defense must succumb. The world began to fear that England for some reason was unable to create the much-needed diversion in the north. Contemporary writers are contending that the Allies deliberately delayed their northern offensive in order to compel the enemy to maintain strong armies along the whole front to meet the attack which every one knew was soon to come.

It seemed that their well-known superiority over the Germans in both men and munitions ought to have made it possible to make strong feints at several places, in addition to launching a real attack on a great scale. Verdun, although an important link in the frontier defenses, was not, after all, a place whose loss would have been fatal to France. The moral effect, however, of a German success at Verdun might have been a serious matter. Such a result would have renewed Teuton hopes, and would certainly have disheartened many of the neutrals weary of waiting to see the Germans defeated. Whatever the real reasons may have been, it is safe to say that the Allies delayed their northern attack to the very last moment if the diversion was intended to save Verdun. When they did strike, however, their attack was on a scale both in extent of front and duration of effort far beyond anything they had previously undertaken on the western front.

A remarkable feature was the great part played by the French, who proved their ability to develop a major offensive on a wide front while continuing to hold the defenses at Verdun with forces strong enough for frequent counterattacks. The

vitality of the French after the trying defense of Verdun was one of the surprises of the war.

The weeks immediately preceding the great attack in Picardy seemed full of promise for the Allies. In June Italy had checked the dangerous Austrian attack on the Trentino, and in the first week of the same month Brusiloff began the attack on Galicia and Bukowina which threatened to crush Austria.

The struggle had raged steadily in Flanders and Artois through two hard years. Whenever the thunder of guns quieted elsewhere in Europe, Asia, or Africa, attention always returned to Ypres, Loos, Souchez, Vimy, Hulluch, and the Labyrinth, where the war gods never ceased to gather their steady toll of British, French, and German lives. A little further to the south lay Picardy, the Santerre, a sobriquet reminiscent of the old wars, when the fair fields were the sang terre of a hundred bloody campaigns. But since the Autumn of 1914, when Castelnau and Maud'huy had won the race for the coast by extending and covering the allied left flank, the lines which congealed then into the entrenched positions in Picardy had been the quietest of all.

Germans in the Ascendancy

London had been whispering for months about the "great push" which was to come, but all through the Spring there was very little activity along the British front, except for mine explosions and tunneling, mingled with small trench raids. In April, May, and June there were a number of brilliant small exploits, but mostly distinguished as sharp counterstrokes recovering trenches which the Germans had stormed. There was a noticeable lack of initial attack, and the best that could be done appeared to be the prevention of any large permanent gain by the enemy. If the gage of mili-

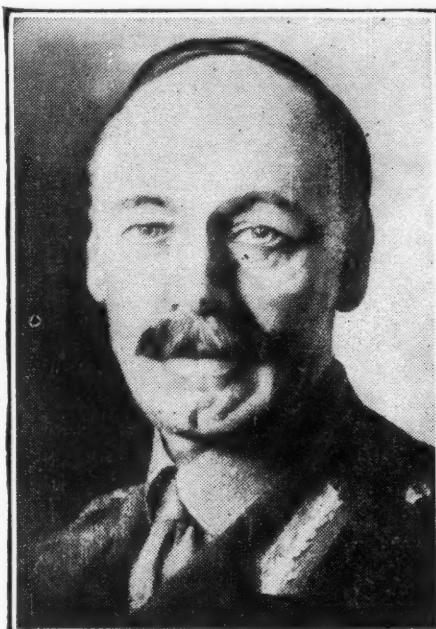
tary supremacy was to be the ability to maintain the initiative it had to be confessed that the decision would rest with the Germans. The great attacks were theirs in Russia, the Balkans, and at Verdun, while in the east their defenses had been much more than negative successes in Gallipoli and Mesopotamia. Only in Armenia had victory rested with the Allies when the Russians took Erzerum and Trebizond. In June the Italians just managed to stop the Austrian attack in the Trentino.

It was high time for the Allies to force the rôle of the defense upon the Germans. The saving of Verdun was an immediate and obvious necessity, but demonstration of an ability to maintain a successful aggressive campaign against the enemy was a greater and more important need. The situation was realized and the Winter and Spring had been used to perfect the equipment necessary for a great offensive. Both England and France poured men and munitions into the sector north of the Somme, where the enemies faced each other on a wide curve running from the river east of Maricourt and west of Mametz, Fricourt, La Boiselle, Ovillers, Thiepval, Beaumont, Hamel, Serre, Gommecourt, and Monchy to the railway from Bapaume to Arras.

Above Thiepval the Ancre crossed the battle front, flowing south to join the Somme back of the French front. As the battle developed into its later stages the shallow valley of this little river was the scene of long, hard battles about Grandcourt, Pys, and Miraumont. South of the Somme, just before the great battle opened, the Germans scored some gains at Frise and Dompierre, which indicated their appreciation of the fact that a storm was brewing whose force they desired to judge by reconnaissance in the region where they doubtless anticipated it would break.

Earlier in the Spring they felt out the French positions in the region of Roye and Albert, but the perfection of their fortifications in the chalk hills of Picardy made the Germans confident that any allied effort there was doomed to certain failure. They had not been idle while

the fighting paused for long months in this region, for they had eagerly seized the opportunity to convert every hill and village into a scientific fortification provided with intricate approaches and numerous supports. The hill villages were



GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON

real fortresses, with deep-sunk refuges for the garrisons in time of bombardment, and artfully concealed machine-gun nests only to be disclosed when attacking infantry presented a worth-while target.

General Haig's Preparations

While the Germans were digging in, General Sir Douglas Haig was improving roads, building military railways, dug-outs, field hospitals, and magazines. More than a hundred pumping plants were installed to provide an adequate supply of water from many new wells, and when the engineers were not boring wells they were driving mines under the enemy's front line works. General Sir Henry Rawlinson commanded the troops assigned for the attack, with his left flank below Gommecourt and his right in touch with the French above Maricourt. On this front of less than fifteen

miles the British had five corps, with a reserve army lying ready behind. The co-operating French army, (the Sixth,) formerly that of Castelnau, was commanded by General Fayolle, and comprised three corps of war-tried veterans, including the famous Twentieth, which at Verdun had won great fame in Douaumont and Avocourt.

While these great armies, with their enormous artillery equipment, were being assembled it was essential that the German air scouts should be prevented from discovering the location of the concentration. Apparently the allied airmen won the control of the air in Picardy, for the Germans were for some weeks brushed out of the sky over that area. Through the latter part of June both British and French batteries began to bombard the enemy lines along the whole front, through Picardy, Artois, and Flanders, and it is believed that the enemy was led to expect the attack much further north than the Somme sector, probably somewhere between Albert and Arras. Rain in the last week of June delayed the operations for several days, but more than seventy trench raids were made, in addition to a number of gas attacks and mine explosions.

As the battle was planned, the British objective was the high ground between the Ancre and the Somme, through Thiepval, Longueval, and Ginchy, in the direction of Combles. The French were to attack below Combles and across the Somme. As the northern part of the British objective was commanded by the enemy positions on the further side of the Ancre, it became necessary to increase the scope of the British assaults by extending the attack to include Gommecourt, five miles above Beaumont Hamel.

Beginning of the Great Battle

At 7:15 on the morning of July 1, 1916, the bombardment reached the utmost fury. At half after the hour there was a pause for a few seconds, and then the bombardment shifted to a barrage, and on a front of twenty-five miles the allied infantry leaped from their trenches and rushed to the attack.

The immediate objective of the British infantry (six divisions) was the high

ground bisected by the Ancre, and despite the utmost gallantry these brave troops were doomed to a costly defeat. The fortified villages of Thiepval, Beaumont Hamel, Serre, and Gommecourt had withstood the hurricane of shell fire and remained practically impregnable. The extraordinarily deep shelters for both men and machine guns enabled the garrisons to return to the surface when the assault developed in time to sweep the advancing lines with rifle and machine-gun fire. Back of the villages the German artillery had excellent observation posts on high ground, and the ranges were figured with mathematical precision. Just before the assault the heavy German guns fired a cloud of six and eight inch high explosive shells into the British front line trenches, and their shrapnel barrage moved with the troops as they advanced.

At Beaumont Hamel a mine which had been seven months digging was exploded under an enemy redoubt, which was blown to pieces with all the ground about it. Nevertheless the German battalions showed splendid morale by immediately getting their automatic rifles and machine guns into effective action.

The British regiments advanced in many successive lines, and in spite of terrible losses some detachments penetrated deep into certain parts of the enemy positions. None, however, were able to hold the ground gained, and by nightfall the remnants of those splendid divisions were back in the old British trenches. Of the groups which fought their way into the German lines nearly a thousand were captured by the enemy, and even on the next day some others succeeded in fighting their way back.

Further south, where perhaps the Germans had not anticipated the attack, real successes were scored. Mametz and Montauban were taken, as well as the outlying defenses of La Boiselle. Fricourt was seriously threatened, and below Thiepval the Leipsic redoubt fell into the hands of the British, which proved a great point of vantage in the later operations. On July 2, about noon, another division was hurled at Fricourt, and that well-nigh impregnable fortress was taken.

On the first day the marvelous French infantry charged with characteristic speed and effect, which won complete success. They gained the outer defenses of Cury and Hardecourt on the 1st, and completed the captures on the 2d of July. South of the Somme the French succeeded in surprising the Germans and captured Dompierre, Becquincourt, and Bussu, as well as Fay.

Results of the Opening Phase

In summing up the results of the opening phase of the great battle of the Somme, we may say that the Allies captured German first-line positions from Mametz to Fay on a front of about fourteen miles, with 6,000 prisoners and a large quantity of guns and stores. In the northern sector, where the enemy had anticipated an attack, the ground won could not be held because every position was rendered untenable by the perfect arrangement of secondary and flanking defense works. There the great battle resolved itself into a long series of siege operations, much like the German attacks at Verdun, only much more successful.

In the southern area of the battlefield on Sunday, July 2, the French followed up their initial successes by capturing Cury, Frise, Mereaucourt Wood, and the powerfully fortified village of Herbecourt. At some places south of the river they broke through the German second-line positions, besides gaining the command of the railway from Combles to Péronne, and their advanced positions were not more than four miles from the latter city. For a short time it seemed as though a quick success might carry the French into Péronne and the British on to Bapaume by the southern approaches, but the arrival of strong German reserves, as well as the great losses incurred by the British in the northern sector, combined to defer the realization of those hopes for long months.

On July 3 and 4 the British infantry fought desperately and won La Boiselle, after suffering severe losses. Thiepval resisted all efforts to capture it, and although Contalmaison was stormed on July 7 it was recaptured by the Third Prussian Guard Division, (the "Cock-

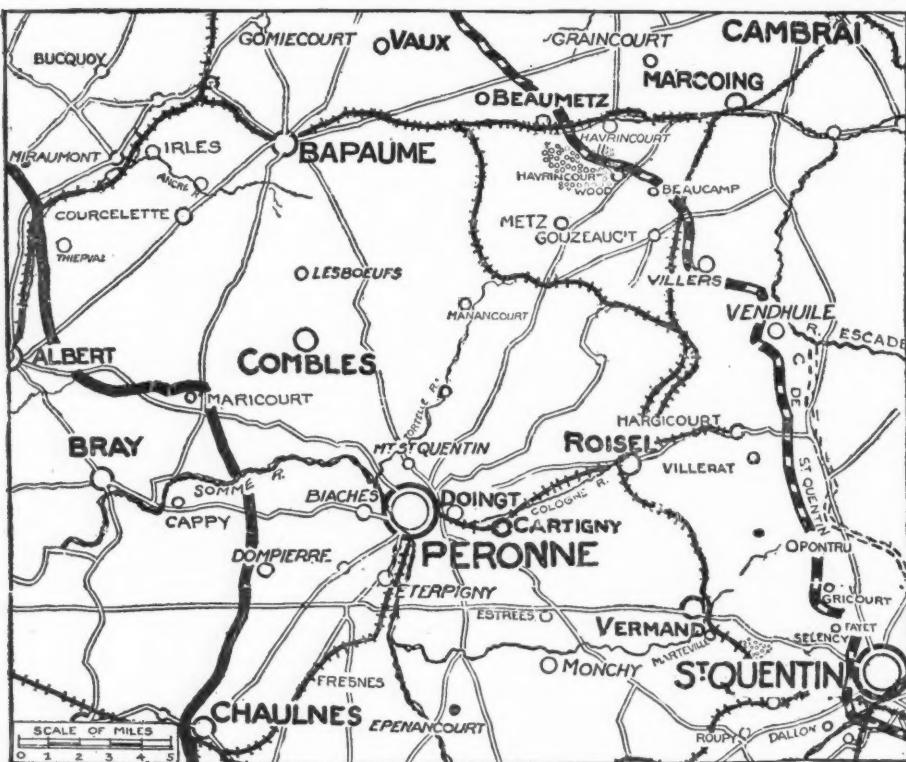
chafers,") who lost 700 prisoners when the village was first taken by the British. In heavy rain progress was made east of La Boiselle along the Bapaume road, and part of Leipsic redoubt was captured. Hard battles raged about several small wooded positions, and after several days of heavy battling Contalmaison was again stormed, and on July 10 captured, after bitter house-to-house fighting. On Sunday, July 16, Ovillers was taken, with 2 surviving officers and 124 soldiers of the Guards.

Through the early days of the month battles were fought for Fricourt Wood, Mametz Wood, Trones Wood, and it was not until July 12 that the British infantry fought their way through Mametz Wood so as to face the German second line positions. Even then neither side could claim Trones Wood.

Meanwhile the French, continuing to fight splendidly along the line of the river, after taking Belloy-en-Santerre, forced their way into part of Estrées and defeated numerous counterattacks. On Sunday, the 9th, Fayolles men took Biaches and were only a mile from Péronne. In less than two weeks' continuous fighting the French forced their way through to the German third-line positions on a front of approximately ten miles, capturing 85 guns, 12,000 men, and 236 officers.

Haig's Drive on Bastille Day

On Bastille Day (July 14) General Haig celebrated the great French fête day by a grand attack on a front from a point below Pozières to Longueval and Delville Wood, approximately four miles. Soon after 3 o'clock in the morning the Third and Fifteenth Corps attacked after a tremendous bombardment, and in the darkness before dawn reached the German positions with almost no loss. This attack was everywhere successful, and by evening the British occupied the whole of the German second line between Longueval and Bazentin-le-Petit. Trones Wood had been cleared, most of Longueval captured, and the British infantry had pushed up the road to within less than six miles of Bapaume. Cavalry had been brought close up the night before, to be ready in case an opening might be



MAIN AREA OVER WHICH THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME WAS FOUGHT

made toward the rear, through which the mounted men might ride to their long-hoped-for opportunity. That hope was not realized, for no break in the enemy line resulted, such was the perfection of his interior lines of defense.

In Trones Wood 170 men of the Royal West Kents were found surrounded by the enemy, but holding on grimly to a valuable point of vantage gained in the night attack. In the early evening of the 14th a troop of Dragoon Guards and a troop of Deccan Horse made their way up a shallow valley and intrenched in a cornfield at a point where they were able to cover the flank of the infantry attacking the formidable enemy positions in High Wood. The fight for this fortified wood continued on the 15th, but strong counterattacks by a German division compelled the British troops to abandon this very difficult position.

The Fight for Delville Wood

A hard battle raged for two weeks

about Longueval and Delville Wood, east of the little town. The British fought their way into the woods without great trouble, but found it impossible to retain the ground gained because of the machine-gun fire from powerful field works near by. The fight for this wood was among the deadliest episodes of the whole Somme battle. The South African brigade fought desperately for a foothold for several days, but finally was relieved, after suffering enormous losses. One splendid battalion, after losing all its officers, repulsed a powerful attack by a crack Brandenburg division; the long battle in this wood was as glorious for the South African troops as Ypres for Canadians or Gallipoli for Australians. Delville Wood was not completely conquered until the last week in August.

On July 16 Ovillers was captured, also Waterlot Farm, a strong fortification southeast of Longueval. Four days later the British renewed the assault upon

High Wood, and made considerable progress in that very difficult sector. The furthest corner of this wood was defended by a division of the Magdeburg Corps with the utmost bravery, and it required two months of hard fighting to finally wrest the last trench from its stubborn defenders.

At midnight on July 23 a bitter struggle began about Thiepval, and an Anzac division of Australians fought again as they had the year before against the Turks in Gallipoli. It was not, however, until the 26th that General Haig was able to announce the capture of this fortified town, to which the Germans clung with heroic tenacity. In the last days of July the capture of Longueval was completed, and hard fighting in Delville Wood won some gains. The Germans repulsed an attack on Guillemont, and as the month ended they defeated powerful attacks at Pozières, although they could not prevent the Australians from gaining a position on the edge of their intrenchments after furious hand-to-hand fighting.

On Aug. 4, at 9 in the evening, the Australians rushed the fortified windmill on the crest of the ridge northeast of Pozières, and won as well the German second-line trenches. A counterattack with liquid fire temporarily dislodged them from a small section; but even that was again taken, and in the following week, in spite of very heavy losses, these splendid British soldiers drove their attack still further into the Teuton lines about Pozières and in the direction of Mouquet Farm, a strong fortification commanding the northwest approach to Pozières and the highway from Albert to Bapaume. The troops who won these successes at great cost continued to suffer heavily from a deadly flanking fire from the German fortifications at Thiepval and heavy batteries further to the north and northeast.

The Situation in August

Before the middle of August the French had conquered all the German positions south of the Somme, and on the 12th, in a perfectly planned assault on a front of fully four miles, penetrated German positions to an average depth of about 1,200 yards. This advance aimed

straight at the main road from Péronne to Bapaume, reached the edge of Maurepas, and below that town cut well across the Maurepas-Cléry road. Still further south they won the Monacu Farm position and drove the enemy fully 700 yards beyond. A few days later they linked up their left flank with the British right north of Maurepas.

In the middle of August the British continued to fight hard at Pozières, High Wood, and Guillemont in heroic efforts to win better protection for the left flank of forces holding the trenches won earlier in the month. Gradually gains were reported northwest of Pozières and in the region of Bazentin le Petit and Martinpuich. About the same time the Germans were compelled to yield some ground near Mouquet Farm and Ginchy. At 8 A. M. on Aug. 18 two British battalions charged suddenly and captured the powerful Leipsic redoubt, south of Thiepval. This attack was so well planned that plenty of machine guns were immediately available to repulse the enemy's counterattack. Elsewhere that day progress was won close to Martinpuich and Longueval, but after capturing the stone quarry close to Guillemont this strong fortification was lost in a counterattack.

The French, co-operating with great success, carried part of Maurepas and stormed a hill position southeast of the town, which was defended by a division of the Prussian Guard newly arrived on the battle line. Although the whole of the First Guard Corps of Prussians was now confronting the French between Maurepas and the Somme, the wonderful poilus yielded never an inch of ground once recovered from the invaders.

On Sunday, Aug. 20, after a severe bombardment the Germans recaptured some trenches lately lost to the British near High Wood and Mouquet Farm, but failed to hold their own when in turn counterattacked. Several days later the Germans repeated their efforts at Guillemont, but failed, and on the 24th the British carried in a fine attack the Hindenburg trench, an outlying defense of Thiepval, and on the same day the French completed the conquest of Maurepas and kept touch with the British

between that town and Guillemont, thus continuing their drive toward Combles. Five German attacks were repulsed on the last day of August by a battalion of the Sussex regiment, between Ginchy and High Wood.

Sunday, Sept. 3, saw the next great concerted attack by the Allies. British and Australian troops took but could not hold High Wood, Ginchy, and Falfemont Farm, a mile southeast of Guillemont. The Prussian Guards opposing them proved themselves foes worthy of the best soldier traditions in courage and tenacity. A number of positions were won and held east of Mouquet Farm.

Fighting for Their Own Homes

Further to the south the French First Corps, recruited from the northeast of France, and consequently fighting to redeem their own homes, attacked gloriously in the sector from the Somme to Maurepas, where they stormed and held the villages of Le Forest and Cléry. Above Le Forest the French drove their attack to a point above the crossroads on the southern edge of Combles.

The Irish Guards captured Guillemont, the strong fortified village in the second line of the German defenses, which had withstood every previous attack. This British success a mile and a half west of Combles helped consolidate the splendid French victories south of the town, although the loss of Falfemont Farm left the Prussians in a salient between the heads of the allied advance. On Sept. 4, however, the British made some new progress near the farm, and, pressing on at night in heavy rain, they gained Leuze Wood and all of the farm position, thus getting within a thousand yards of Combles on the west and northwest.

At the same time a new French army—General Micheler's Tenth Army—attacked the Germans south of the Somme, and in one sudden rush on a front of three miles carried the German first line from Chilly to Vermandovillers and took several thousand prisoners. The next day the French attacked on both sides of the Somme, and won a number of woodland trenches and the ridges between Bouchavesnes and Cléry, as well as the village of Omiécourt.

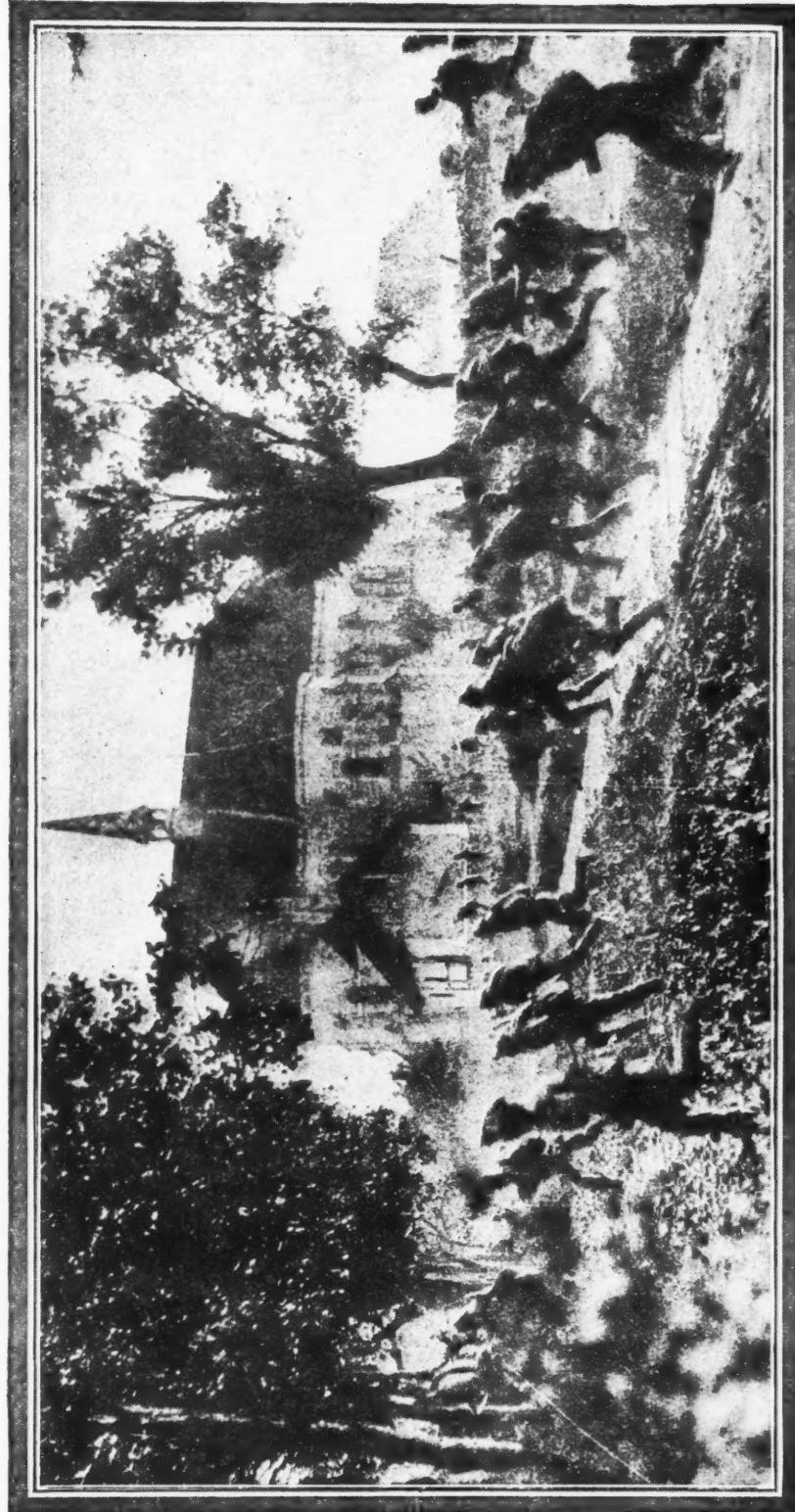
The Germans made a number of powerful counterattacks on Sept. 7 and 8 along the whole front, but failed completely in the face of the greatly superior allied artillery. On Sept. 9 the Irish regiments which took Guillemont captured Ginchy, but a number of other attacks broke down, notably one aimed at a field fort called the Quadrilateral, east of Ginchy. Nevertheless, the Allies were pressing hard upon Combles, north of the Somme, and the new French army south of the river was less than half a mile from Chaulnes, an important centre of roads and communications. The Chaulnes-Roye railway was cut and the Germans seemed quite unable to halt this new French force, which was so greatly extending the scope of the attack on the German line.

Thiepval a Hard Problem

It was evident that renewed efforts must be made by the British to drive the enemy back in the region from Thiepval north, where the Germans had defeated all efforts to dislodge them. Unless that could be done there would be a dangerous exposure of the left flank of forces pushing on toward Bapaume beyond Pozières and Longueval. The danger of salients is a lesson well taught in this war.

As the Germans lost ground in July and August, they busied themselves with new lines of defense back of what was the third line in their original scheme. This new line assumed the characteristic form of the later German defenses, in which prominence is given to powerful field forts mutually supporting rather than continuous lines of intrenchments. Thiepval was a notable example, and the Germans made every effort to similarly fortify Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, Lesboeufs, and Morval. This series of defenses was particularly interesting to the student of fortification, because it followed the plan which was so successful in Champagne in the Autumn of 1915. It will be remembered that the field works which stopped the French then were on the reverse side of the hills and so close under them that the entanglements and trenches were practically uninjured by the preliminary bombardment.

SNAPSHOT OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN DISORDERLY RETREAT



(Central News Photo Service)
A Scene During the Russian Retreat in Galicia. The Headlong Flight Seen in This Photograph Was Caused by the Cry, "The German Cavalry Have Broken Through."

GERMANS CAPTURED IN THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS



(*British Official Photo from Western Hemisphere Union*)
A Large Haul of German Soldiers Captured by the British During the Great Battle in Flanders. The Prisoners Are Being Marched to the Railroad

So here these villages lay on the reverse side of the main ridge, hidden from view except to aerial scouts. In addition the Germans fortified Gueudecourt, Le Sars, Encourt l'Abbaye, on a still further interior line, with an additional back stop along the Péronne-Bapaume road in the region of Le Transloy and Sailly-Saillisel. All these must be reduced before Bapaume could be taken, but again allied hopes were running high.

When Rumania Entered

In the end of August Rumania entered the war on the allied side, an event hailed by all who longed for the defeat of the Teutons as a sure factor toward the accomplishment of that end. Brusiloff's successes were so impressive, and at that time looked so permanent, that Rumania felt it needful to get in at once if she was to be reckoned among the victors, for just then Sarrail seemed ready to contribute toward a conclusion by sweeping up through the Balkans. In the light of what soon happened to Russia and Rumania, it seems difficult now to remember that a great majority of the onlookers held strongly to these opinions. The first of September, 1916, looked as though it might be the beginning of the end, for in addition to all the hoped-for things in the east, it had been proved that in the west the French and British had men, guns, and munitions sufficient to push the German out of his most skillfully designed defenses.

In the Somme battle the German higher command had used the finest troops at their command, but Prussians, Brandenburgers, Bavarians had all been compelled to yield ground. Most important was their inability to recover any of the ground. Pushing them back was a sure, although slow and very costly, process. Of course, the hope under the surface everywhere was that their defense somewhere would crack and permit a great manoeuvre battle on the open field. The immediate objective of all this welter of blood and treasure was the quite unimportant town of Bapaume, in front of the British, and Péronne, facing the French. Many miles back from those places lay the points of real importance—

Lille, Douai, Cambrai, St. Quentin. That was (and is) a line of French cities where the Tricolor must float again before the days of the German on French soil could begin to be numbered. It is hard to realize that the battle of the Somme, one of the hardest in all history, was an attack upon an outer line of defenses only. However, as the Allies were definitely committed to the plan of pushing the German front back rather than attempting to roll his line up from a flank, it was evident that the work of the Summer must be continued with grim determination.

Coming of the "Tanks"

For the renewal of the struggle Britain brought up the corps d'élite of the army. Old regulars, Guards, and new army men, although of different designations, were all by now war-tried veterans with proud histories of hard fighting. Australians, New Zealanders, and the men of Newfoundland contributed famous units to fight side by side with Scotch and Irish regiments.

For the new offensive a new weapon appeared, officially called "Machine Gun Corps, Heavy Section," but soon to become widely known by their frolicsome nickname, "tanks." Looked upon as an experiment, the British had faith enough in their possibilities to make a very considerable number of these heavily armored vehicles, propelled on caterpillar wheels by powerful motors, and armed with machine guns. The German Secret Service seems to have known of their preparation long before the British troops on the firing line had ever seen one, and when the "tanks" got into action they met a new armor-piercing bullet especially intended to stop them. The story now widely told is that a certain lovely woman spy in Paris and elsewhere gleaned the knowledge from an indiscreet officer of the "tank" service who fell under the influence of her wiles.

Nevertheless, the huge leviathan-like creatures waddle over the battle-fields, crushing entanglements, straddling trenches, and rumbling up the streets of battle-torn villages, always spitting showers of machine-gun bullets and often adding a material terror for those facing

them in the trenches. Of course, the optimistic accounts of widespread terror and panic created by their appearance were gross exaggerations. If all that was claimed had been true, there would have been nothing for the British infantry to do but gather up herds of frightened Germans and shepherd them back to the prison pens.

Combles and Thiepval

By the middle of September all arrangements had been perfected, and on the night of the 14th the Fifth Army began by storming the Hohenzollern Trench and a redoubt called the "Wunderwerk," southeast of Thiepval. For three days the British bombardment had continued, and at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 15th it developed into absolute fury. A few minutes later the British infantry were over their parapets, with the queer mottled tanks, spitting fire, rumbling along with them. That afternoon the Canadians carried Courcelette, and it was a proud day for French Canadians to help win back some of the ancient motherland. The Scotch stormed Martinpuch, a position of great strength. After a terrific battle the London territorials finally cleared the Bavarians out of High Wood, although their losses were very heavy. The New Zealanders took Flers. On the right flank the Germans in the Quadrilateral and Bouleaux Wood defeated the best efforts of the Guards brigades, assisted by an old regular division and London territorials.

As a whole the day was a great triumph for the British. Of the twenty-four tanks which crossed the German line seventeen kept in action all day and were undoubtedly a great help in attacking machine-gun nests and concealed trench refuges. The allied air service at this time seemed distinctly to master the Germans and contributed greatly to the efficiency of the British artillery fire. Among the long list of casualties, England's Prime Minister mourned his son, Lieutenant Raymond Asquith of the Grenadier Guards.

When the British charged, the French were never idle, and on the 13th Fayolle's men stormed Bouchavesnes and took more than 2,000 prisoners. On the 14th they

took a fortified farm southeast of Combles, and on the 17th and 18th below the Somme these splendid fighting men won Vermandovillers, Berny, and Deniécourt. In the next few days both British and French withstood hard counterattacks, and on the 18th the British finally won the Quadrilateral, after stern, close fighting.

At high noon on Sept. 25 another great attack began. The guards this time triumphed and took Lesboeufs and a regular division stormed Morval, on the road north of Combles. The French captured Raucourt, east of Combles, and thus nearly completed the circle about that strongly fortified place. On the 26th the British were masters of Gueudecourt, and the French stormed Fregicourt and Combles.

Further to the north, Thiepval, that long-sought fortification, was finally captured by two divisions of the new army. Mouquet Farm and Zollern redoubt were also won. September was a month of great triumph for the Allies on the Somme. With October bad weather came, and heavy gales with drenching rain greatly delayed projected attacks, as the country roads became almost impassable for transport and communications.

Last Phases of the Battle

Early in October some ground was gained beyond Le Sars along the Albert-Bapaume highway. Then for a month a wearisome struggle went on up the slopes of Warlencourt, where the Germans had installed their machine guns with great skill. On Nov. 5 the British gained the crest, but were driven out that night by a newly arrived German Guard division.

After Thiepval was taken, it was still needful to face strong nearby defenses above the village, where two redoubts, Stuff and Zollern, were not reduced for some weeks. Late in October both were finally captured, with the top of the ridge between Upper Ancre and Courcelette. The French in this Autumn fighting took Saint Pierre Vaast Wood, and on Oct. 8 won a way across the Bapaume-Péronne road. In turn they won Ablaincourt and the approaches to Chaulnes. About the middle of October

Fayolle took Sailly-Saillisel after a series of hard battles, but the Germans regained Sailly at the end of the month.

In the middle of November, when the frost had stiffened the roads, the British renewed the attack against the high ground above the Ancre, where the Germans held fast at Serre, Beaumont Hamel, and Beaucourt, with a powerful position in the rear at Pusieux-du-Mort. Hard fighting followed at all of these places, and especially about Beaucourt, but the British would not be denied a

firm grip on these essential heights commanding Bapaume, and by the time the Winter storms ended the battle of the Somme they were well established east of Beaucourt and above Grandcourt.

Five months of fighting had won back only a rather narrow strip of French soil, but one in which the enemy had exhausted every defensive device. The ground was ready for greater things in the next year, and the battle of the Somme had sealed the fate of the great German offensive at Verdun.

Harry Lauder at the Front

This poignant story, told by Dr. George Adams, describes a visit made by Harry Lauder, the singer and comedian, to his son's grave in France:

THE men went wild with enthusiasm and joy wherever he went. One day I was taking Harry to see the grave of his only child, Captain John Lauder of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, as fine a lad as ever wore a kilt, and as good and brave a son as ever a father had.

As we were motoring swiftly along we turned into the town of Albert and the first sharp glance at the cathedral showed the falling Madonna and Child. While we lingered a bunch of soldiers came marching through dusty and tired. Lauder asked the officer to halt his men for a rest and he would sing to them. I could see that they were loath to believe it was the real Lauder until he began to sing. Then the doubts vanished and they abandoned themselves to the full enjoyment of this very unexpected pleasure. When the singing began the audience would number about 200; at the finish of it easily more than 2,000 soldiers cheered him on his way.

It was a strange send-off on the way that led to a grave—the grave of a father's fondest hopes—but so it was. A little way up the Bapaume road the car stopped and we clambered the embankment and away over the shell-torn field of Courcelette. Here and there we passed a little cross which marked the

grave of some unknown hero; all that was written was "A British Soldier."

He spoke in a low voice of the hope-hungry hearts behind all those at home. Now we climbed a little ridge, and here a cemetery, and in the first row facing the battlefield was the cross on Lauder's boy's resting place.

The father leaned over the grave to read what was written there. He knelt down, indeed he lay upon the grave and clutched it, while his body shook with the grief he felt. When the storm had spent itself he rose and prayed: "O God, that I could have but one request. It would be that I might embrace my laddie just this once and thank him for what he has done for his country and humanity."

That was all, not a word of bitterness or complaint. On the way down the hill I suggested gently that the stress of such an hour made further song that day impossible. But Lauder's heart is big and British. Turning to me with a flash in his eye he said, "George, I must be brave; my boy is watching and all the other boys are waiting. I will sing to them this afternoon though my heart break!" Off we went again to another division of Scottish troops.

There within the hour he sang again the sweet old songs of love and home and country, bringing all very near, and helping the men to realize the deeper what victory for the enemy would mean.

Joffre and Hindenburg: Their Methods and Battles

A Study by Gabriel Hanotaux
Member of the French Academy

M. Hanotaux, the historian and former Foreign Minister of France, has prepared a series of important articles on the early battles of the war, in some cases citing facts and documents not generally known. The following, translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, comprises interesting portions of M. Hanotaux's studies, including a luminous explanation of the battle of Tannenberg. First comes an analysis of the French retreat from Charleroi to the Marne, (August, 1914,) in which appears this sketch of General Joffre.

EYEWITNESSES have related that in those hours of secret anguish, when he alone could know how great was the peril, General Joffre remained his accustomed self, attentive, studious, busy, confident. His anxiety was apparent only in his greater application. With half-closed eyes he concentrated his mind, and words addressed to him found him silent.

The virtues of Joffre are, in the moral realm, calmness, and, in the intellectual realm, equilibrium. Such is his nature, in which reflection aids instinct: when he does not feel sure, he seeks. He feels every modification in the balance of forces, and, moving himself, so to speak, as a counterpoise, he revises his plans, re-forms the lines, and is not satisfied until he has restored stability.

In the terrible crisis in which he found himself, when the enemy had suddenly thrown to the west of him forces heavier than those which he could oppose to them, his first movement on learning the facts was to seek for a new equilibrium. Even before the enemy movement was completed he intervened. Not a moment did he delay in mending the raveled woof, in repairing the torn situation: he cut his cloth to sew it anew.

Many a commander would have been stubborn. Fighting foot by foot is a resource that tempts soldiers, if merely for its heroism. But Joffre realized that to stop his armies, even for battle, was to risk their destruction. Before all, they must escape in order to get a fresh hold.

He saw and acted at the same time—clear vision and promptness. Joffre in adversity revealed himself to himself and to the country. His figure then appeared as it will remain in history, graye, strong, and resolute. France found a man, a chief, a captain.

Joffre's Note to His Armies

[The historian goes on to retrace the measures taken by General Joffre to regain the initiative, citing this important official note, which contains all the essentials of a new tactic adapted to the circumstances. The comments in brackets are those of M. Hanotaux:]

General Headquarters, Aug. 24, 1914.

It appears from what we have learned through the fighting up to the present day that our attacks are not executed with a close combination of infantry and artillery. Every operation of a whole army should consist of a series of actions in detail aiming at the conquest of points of support. [Is this not a whole tactical philosophy?]

Every time that one wishes to capture a vital position it is necessary to attack with the artillery, to hold back the infantry, and to send it to the assault only at a distance which makes it certain that the objective can be attained. [From that time forth there were no more attacks without artillery preparation.]

Every time that it has been attempted to throw the infantry into the attack from too great a distance, before the artillery has made its action felt, the infantry has fallen under the fire of machine guns and has suffered losses that could have been avoided. [A measured criticism of the gravest of the errors that led to the first reverses. We have here the "binding together of the different arms" and their

subordination to the end in view, not to more or less systematic theories.]

When a vital position is taken it should be organized immediately, trenches dug, the artillery brought up in order to checkmate all counterattacks of the enemy. [The use of intrenchments, the employment of artillery to organize the ground won; trench warfare has made its appearance.]

The infantry seems not to understand the necessity of organizing itself in battle for long endurance. [The idea of the tactics of the long breath and even of a company organized for duration is substituted for the earlier idea of a war of movement and spirited offensive. Joffre appears as he is, a genius of stability.]

Throwing into line numerous and dense units, it immediately exposes them to the fire of the enemy, which decimates them, summarily stops their offensive, and often leaves them at the mercy of a counterattack. [Here already we have the grave danger of the counterattack. Now the counterattack, as the future will show, is the whole of this war.]

It is by means of a line of riflemen sufficiently spaced and continually supported [how much in two words!] that the infantry, sustained by the artillery, should lead the battle, holding on in this way until the moment when the assault can be judiciously delivered. [A reminder of the most beautiful French quality, judgment, discretion.]

The German cavalry divisions always go into action preceded by a few battalions in automobiles. Thus far the main bodies of their cavalry have never let themselves be approached by our cavalry. They travel behind their infantry, and from there send out cavalry detachments [patrols and reconnoitring parties] that seek the support of their infantry as soon as they are attacked. Our cavalry pursues these detachments and strikes against positions solidly held. [An exact picture of the tactics introduced by the German cavalry—also a lesson.] Our cavalry divisions should always have infantry support to strengthen them and increase their offensive powers.

The horses also should have time to eat and sleep; without that the cavalry will be worn out prematurely before having been employed.

The General Commanding in Chief.

J. JOFFRE.

[Upon the basis of this note there followed a regrouping of the French armies and the preparation of the offensive that saved France at the Marne. In another article M. Hanotaux continues:]

I have tried to indicate the origins of the battle of the Marne. It is admitted henceforth that what constitutes Joffre's

glory is to have been able to parry the German plan of encirclement, based on the doctrines of von Schlieffen; to have parried it on the right by his army of the east, which stopped the enemy before the forest opening at Charmes, and, on the left, by his decision to transport a part of his troops from the east to the west in such fashion as to seize the mastery of events on the Ourcq and throw the Germans back upon the Aisne.

These gifts were won for history, but in order to appreciate all their value I wish now to try to compare the events that took place on the eastern front at the moment when those just referred to were taking place on the western front.

As we shall see, the German military chiefs applied the doctrines of von Schlieffen there also; but there they won success with them. The campaign in East Prussia presents a positive proof that fully confirms the negative proof of the battle on the French frontier.

The Russians in Prussia

Two Russian armies had invaded East Prussia; one, commanded by Rennenkampf, followed the great railway that binds Petrograd to Berlin by way of Gumbinnen, Insterburg, Allenstein, Eylau, on toward Thorn on the Vistula. While besieging or masking Königsburg, Elbing, Danzig, it counted upon occupying East Prussia and there awaiting the success of the general manoeuvre aimed against Austria by the Grand Duke Nicholas.

The other Russian army came from Warsaw and the banks of the Narew. It advanced from south to north in order to march, like the other, upon the Vistula in the direction of Danzig, there to join Rennenkampf's army and clear the way to Berlin.

The preliminary mission intrusted to the two armies of the north was singularly facilitated by the fact that Germany, not foreseeing so rapid a mobilization of the first Russian armies, had left on that frontier only three active army corps and some reserve formations. The two Russian armies—separately weaker than the German army—would be much stronger than it when once united. Unfortunately, they were not in

close communication with each other, being separated by the almost impenetrable region of the Masurian Lakes.

The first commander of the German army, von Prittwitz, advanced on the frontier before Rennenkampf; he was beaten at Gumbinnen on Aug. 20. Rennenkampf advanced as far as Insterburg on the railway north of the Masurian Lakes; he installed his army in East Prussia and threatened Königsberg. Meanwhile Samsonoff, coming from the Narew, was debouching to the southwest of the lakes and skirting them with the object of joining Rennenkampf near Osterode-Eylau.

The German army, which was still facing Rennenkampf near Gumbinnen, saw its communications menaced by this advance of Samsonoff. It beat a precipitate retreat, and von Prittwitz believed he had no choice but to retire behind the Vistula. The population was fleeing as far as Berlin.

There was a great sensation in the headquarters of the German General Staff, which had staked everything on the western front, and which at that moment (Aug. 20-22) still had some painful fighting to do at Charleroi, in the Ardennes, and on the Lorraine frontier, so that it did not feel any too sure of victory.

The Coming of Hindenburg

It was in this hour of peril that a dispatch, dated at Namur, went to seek at Hanover in a tavern where he was smoking his pipe and drinking his habitual bock an old, retired General, Hindenburg, and named him at one stroke the commander of the army on the eastern front. For his second in command they gave him Ludendorff, who, leaving Namur with all necessary instructions, came to seek him at Hanover. The two men took the train together in the night of Aug. 22, studying their maps on the journey, formulating their plan, and writing their orders.

Far from thinking of retiring behind the Vistula, Hindenburg and Ludendorff decided to resume the offensive against the Russian armies, attacking them separately while they were still divided by the Masurian Lakes. Hindenburg first

turned his attention to Samsonoff's army, which had come from Warsaw and the Narew, and which most directly menaced his communications. Samsonoff was an impetuous man; having excellent troops, he was full of confidence, and was marching straight ahead; he was just the man to fall head foremost into the trap that his enemy was setting for him.

This was the trap: Hindenburg had arranged his troops in a vast semicircle formed by the lines of hills on each side of Allenstein, the one toward Usdau on the west and the other toward Willenberg on the east. The Twenty-second German Army Corps, at the entrance of the semicircle, at Soldau, on the railway from Warsaw, received an order to engage Samsonoff's army, and to retreat while fighting, thus luring it as far as possible into the curve of the German lines. At the proper moment the two sectors of the semicircle were to close in upon Samsonoff, envelop and crush him; it was Schlieffen's manoeuvre, the extension of the front and the action of both wings.

Samsonoff entered the semicircle in pursuit of the Twenty-second German Corps, the Twenty-second fell back, Samsonoff followed, forcing it westward, and finally establishing his headquarters at Allenstein. He believed he had won a victory. His right, finding no enemy forces before it, extended itself northward and reached the Petrograd-Berlin railway near Rastenburg.

Samsonoff's Army Trapped

The position of Samsonoff may be compared to that of the classic runner, with his right hand stretched high in the air toward Rennenkampf, the body in full career, but the left foot delaying in the rear toward Usdau. It was exactly at this moment when Samsonoff was hurling himself forward, that Hindenburg, beginning the real manoeuvre, seized him by that left foot. A German force, coming partly from Thorn, and reinforced by all the units available, appeared at Usdau and threw itself against the communicating lines of Samsonoff in the direction of Soldau.

Samsonoff failed to grasp the meaning of this movement, and went on pursuing his idea of breaking the German

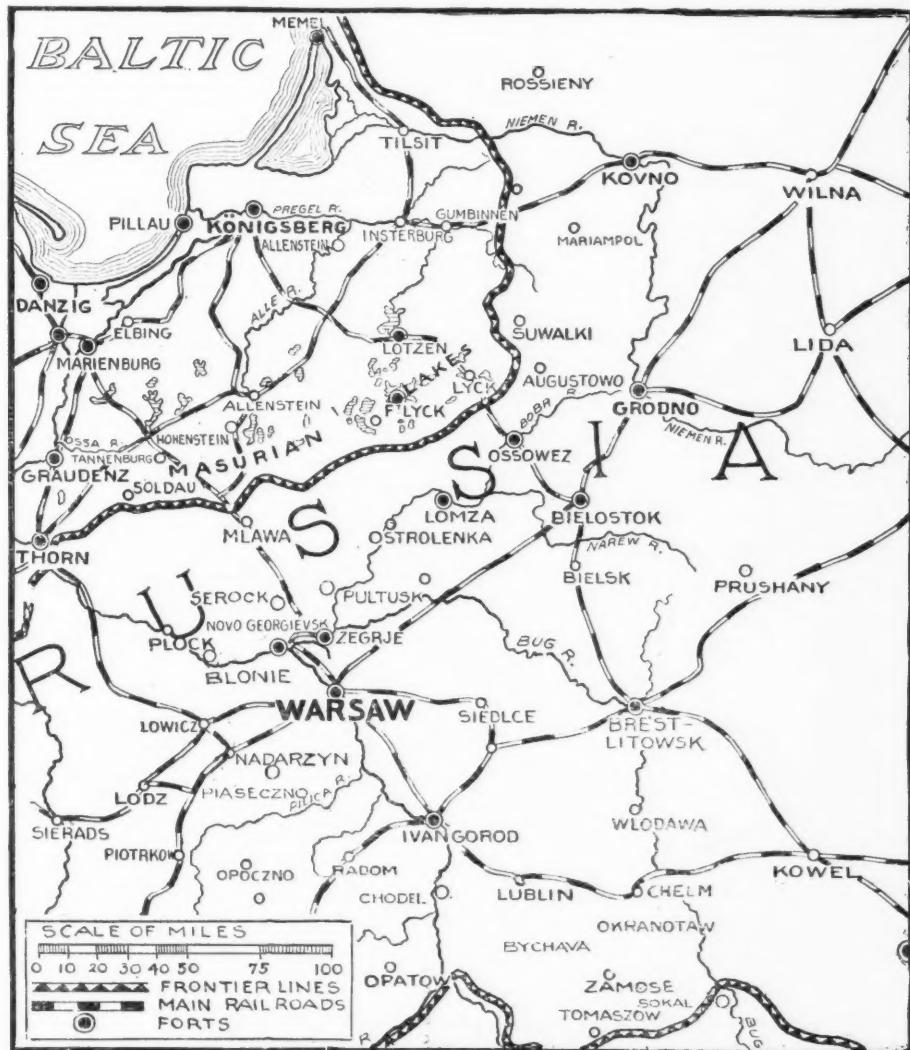
front at the middle. He hurled himself against the Hohenstein-Tannenberg lines, which Hindenburg had garnished with his heavy guns and his best troops. The latter withstood the shock of Samsonoff's desperate assaults, which were renewed for three days—Aug. 26-29.

Meanwhile Hindenburg's extreme right wing continued its turning movement, gained the first advantage at Usdau, and marched next upon Soldau with the object of closing the door on Samsonoff at that point. In the other direction Mackensen, who held the eastern sector

of the semicircle, turned Samsonoff's flank on the east, defeated his right wing, and pushed on toward Willenberg, the other door. Without pausing in the pursuit he turned toward Samsonoff's main force, which was still fighting desperately in the direction of Hohenstein-Tannenberg, and fell upon its rear. It was the same as if von Hausen had succeeded in his Meuse manoeuvre on the western front and had fallen upon the rear of Lanrezac at Charleroi.

The Battle of Tannenberg

Apparently at that moment Samsonoff



SCENE OF THE BATTLES OF TANNENBERG AND THE MASURIAN LAKES

realized what was happening. He tried to snatch himself out of the trap; he evacuated Allenstein in haste and rushed toward Soldau to open a way toward the Narew and Warsaw. It was too late. Hindenburg's right wing had entered Soldau. The doors of escape were closed one after the other. In the swamps and network of little lakes Samsonoff's army was surrounded. It fought heroically, a hopeless fight. Even surrender, if it had been desired, was impossible. After the incredible efforts of five whole days of battle there remained only the shattered fragments of a great army, strewn about in the trackless maze of swamp lands; troops wandering through the woods, units mixed in a hopeless mob, cannon mired in the stagnant water, regiments formed from soldiers of all arms, the most vigorous débris gathered up by the most energetic officers in order to break through the circle by charging at random!

Some divisions got through. Others clung in rags to the thickets of thorn trees, or wandered in circles, completely lost. Samsonoff did not wish to survive the disaster; he placed himself in the first ranks and was killed by a shell, which also struck his Chief of Staff. Thus ended what the German historians call emphatically "the greatest battle of destruction in history." They all give the credit to the strategic teachings of Schlieffen. I have before me a German brochure explaining the battle of Tannenberg with diagrams; its title is "From Hannibal to Hindenburg," and it contains this sentence: "It was Schlieffen who before his death dictated the whole plan of the great war against France and Russia."

Battle of Masurian Lakes

For reasons that have not been explained Rennenkampf had remained motionless at Insterberg while Samsonoff was getting himself crushed at Tannenberg, two marches away. On hearing the news he felt the danger that now menaced himself. He adopted measures against it, but measures directly inverse to those of Samsonoff, and, in a different way, no less unwise. Samsonoff had attacked headlong and without manoeu-

ving. Rennenkampf resolved to defend himself where he was. He supported his right on the sea at Libau, his left on the Masurian Lakes at Lötzen; he fortified his centre on the Berlin-Petrograd railway, along which he expected Hindenburg to approach. He threw up earthworks all around him, and made of the space between Allenburg and Lötzen an enormous redoubt, in which were crowded four army corps. Thus prepared and equipped, in a position that seemed to him impregnable, he waited.

At only one point he thought of a sort of countermanoeuvre. Orders were given that fresh troops from Grodno should advance along Hindenburg's flank in the direction of Lyck, and should fall upon the German right wing in case it tried to debouch to the east of the Masurian Lakes.

Hindenburg, in spite of the difference of situation, undertook to repeat against Rennenkampf the manoeuvre that had just succeeded against Samsonoff. It is always the great idea of Schlieffen. The battle began on Sept. 6 and coincided exactly with the French battle of the Marne. Hindenburg had received from the western front two corps, the Eleventh and Guard Reserve, besides a division of cavalry. Thus he took all the reserves that the interior could furnish, and he threw every man of them into the battle. The troops went into the conflict wearied by terrible marches, but, thrilled by the triumph of Tannenberg, they had faith in their victory.

Hindenburg began with a feint. On his left the Königsberg garrison, reinforced by the sea route, made a sortie and threatened to cut off Rennenkampf in the direction of Tilsit. But the real attack was made on the right the next day, Sept. 7. Mackensen, von der Goltz, von Morgen, von François debouched by all the roads from the Masurian Lakes, advanced upon Lötzen, Gross Gablick, Goldhap, and undertook to cut off Rennenkampf from the Russian frontier. It was the manoeuvre of encirclement. The German right wing, ceaselessly reinforced, fought a series of terrible battles that lasted four days.

Here appeared the happy results of

the somewhat tardy manoeuvre which Rennenkampf had improvised; the fresh troops, the Third Siberian Corps and the rest debouched from Grodno. There followed an hour of anguish for Hindenburg, which sufficed to save Rennenkampf. The latter, assailed on both flanks and at the centre, did not do as Samsonoff had done; he did not become stubborn. Profiting from the hour of hesitation produced by the manoeuvre on his left, he retreated. His centre had been subjected to terrible assaults; he had lost his foothold at Allenburg, Gerdauen, Gumbinnen. He was barely in time. His army regained the frontier after a most painful retreat.

Here Hindenburg's success was incomplete. Schlieffen's system provides only for absolute crushing. Rennenkampf escaped. I cannot give the details of the military operations—they can be found in my "History of the War." But the point I am making is in the comparison of the

operations on the west and east fronts. Samsonoff took the offensive without manoeuvring, Rennenkampf stood on the defensive almost without manoeuvres, while Joffre, who knew his business, was manoeuvring all the time. He took the Schlieffen system on its weak side, that of rash extension of front. The Germans, held back first at the breach at Charmes, were finally beaten on the Marne.

Thus was obtained the greatest reversal of fortune, perhaps, that history has ever seen. The Yser, Verdun, the Somme, are the daughters of that initial thought. The battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes throw light for us on the battle of the Marne. The Schlieffen system succeeded on the one hand and failed on the other. The manoeuvre of Joffre was one of the most beautiful intellectual operations of military genius in all time; it is a magnificent expression of French genius.

How Lorraine Was Saved in 1914

Told by Maurice Barrès
Of the French Academy

Among the valuable historical sketches called forth in France by the third anniversary of the Marne was one contributed by Maurice Barrès to L'Echo de Paris, describing the little-known battle in which General Castelnau hurled back the German invasion east of Verdun, two weeks before the Marne battle. The essential portions of the article are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

OUR enemies could believe themselves masters of the world in August, 1914. With what proud confidence they advanced after Sarreburg, after Morhange, after Charleroi! And yet they were stopped so hard and so definitely that they never tried to seize Paris, or Nancy, or the passage of the Moselle. Let us recall those days of our extreme peril and understand by what virtues of our soldiers and commanders, by what complete unity of the French people, we obtained that miracle of victory.

Visiting Lorraine to help my fellow-countrymen celebrate at Rozelieures, at Gerbéviller, at Mesnil-sur-Belvitte, the great deeds done by the armies of Castelnau and Dubail, I traversed daily the

scene of the "battle of Charmes," which others call the battle of Borville or the battle of Rozelieures. Aug. 25, 1914, the culminating point, decisive of a long battle which was itself the pivot of all the manoeuvres of the Marne, was a day of immense importance. It assured the safety of Lorraine and of France. * * *

The gratitude of Lorraine and of France ought to be inscribed upon the school of Pont Saint Vincent, where General Castelnau—working amid the absolute confidence of his army and of the people, because of his knowledge of Lorraine and his admirable character, seconded and supported by a General Staff whose chief was General Anthoine—directed the battles of Charmes and of

the Grand Couronné. It was on Aug. 22, one hour after noon, that Castelnau came to establish his headquarters in that modest structure, now venerable. Whence did he come?

On Aug. 19, 20, and 21 the armies of Dubail and Castelnau had fought at Sarreburg and Morhange—fought without success. Nevertheless, the Germans, who had suffered heavy losses in those battles, made no attempt to cut off our line of retreat. They had lost contact. Our two armies fought during their retreat by a combined movement in which the two commanders helped each other. I hope some day to be able to tell the story of General Dubail as he stood in the City Hall of Rambervillers and directed the victorious resistance of his troops and of the Twenty-first Corps.

From the Blandan Barracks at Nancy on Aug. 20 General Castelnau had, under pressure of necessity, taken all precautions to assure the defense of Nancy and to permit his main forces to establish themselves behind the Meurthe and the fortified front of the Grand Couronné. His wish was not to give battle until after all the army corps were completely remade. The country people described the scene to me along the routes of march—the columns finding their way, the isolated men regrouping themselves, the trains, the parks of artillery, the convoys winding along the left bank of the Meurthe. Recovery of contact with the Germans took place on the 22d; they had received reinforcements, and our rear guards and cavalry sought to check them and understand their direction.

Would there be time to finish the preparations on the heights of the Grand Couronné? And on the heights of Safrais, of Belchamp, of Borville, where the work was dragging? Could the armies stop up the hole just in front of the forest opening at Charmes, that is to say, at one of the decisive points between Castelnau's right and Dubail's army? Would there be troops enough to guard that thirty-seven-mile front from Sainte Geneviève to Dorville? Those expected from the Alps—released

by Italy's assurances—could they arrive for the decisive hour?

All those problems were thought out and controlled by Castelnau in the little schoolhouse of Pont Saint Vincent, where, hour by hour, depending upon his air scouts and cavalry, he knew or divined what the enemy was doing or intended to do, leaving his maps only to walk back and forth with hands behind him, or to throw himself for a few hours fully dressed upon a couch in a corner of the room, surrounded by his staff.

On the evening of the 23d, and still more in the night of the 24th, he emerged from his keenest anguish, being convinced that he could stop the retreat, that his troops were in condition to fight. All his positions were ready and solidly held. To guard against every contingency, the destruction of the bridges over the Moselle and lower Meurthe was arranged for—even down in the forest opening of Neufchâteau—and the fort of Bourlemon was armed and reoccupied. In the region of Lenoncourt he got together a strong group which he held ready with all the available forces of the Twentieth Corps to execute a powerful counterattack.

Where will the shock come? The first part of the morning of Aug. 24 passes in the expectation of an assault by the Germans on the Rembétant, that is to say upon Nancy, but behold! at 8 o'clock from all directions comes the information to Pont Saint Vincent that two German army corps are marching southward in all haste toward Charmes.

In place of attacking Castelnau on the heights, the Germans evidently have taken for their objective the possession of the bridgeheads on the Moselle. They are going to be able, in the neighboring woods of Charmes, to approach the river without being seen or touched. Even before reaching it they will seize, on the right bank, the line Vesoul-Epinal-Nancy, which at this moment has become one of the great arteries in which flow the life and hope of France. Ten miles further on, at Tantonville, on the left bank, is another artery no less active, the line of Chalindrey - Mirecourt - Nancy, which brings to the Grand Couronné night and

day the means for its resistance. Beyond lie Neufchâteau, Chaumont, the death of all our hopes.

In his haste Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria refuses to believe that Castelnau and Dubail have been able to re-establish themselves; he executes before them "the manoeuvre of scorn," as von Kluck was to do a little later before Gallieni and Maunoury; he does not try to join battle with them, but to outstrip them on their lines of communication. He rushes forward, he pushes his columns along, thus laying his flank open to the blows of the Grand Couronné.

Instantly Castelnau profits by this imprudence of pride. He orders an offensive upon the flank and rear of the enemy columns, yet a limited offensive, without engaging his principal force, without relinquishing the support of his positions, which he continues to reinforce for the reception of any attack. And at the same time (about 10 o'clock in the morning) his cavalry corps, which is commanded by General Conneau, and which includes the famous regiments from Lunéville, pushed by the Germans in the direction of Charmes, makes a stubborn stand on the crest of Morviller, on the Naquée Farm and in the Jointois Wood, inflicts serious losses with its artillery,

and, finally, in the evening, falls back in good order upon Dorville, thus assuring the union of Castelnau and Dubail and stopping up the neck of the bottle in the direction of the Moselle.

Borville! In the evening of the 24th, in the little schoolhouse of Pont Saint Vincent, General Castelnau, bending over the map of these regions, which, as a former resident of Nancy and a Lorrainer at heart he knows marvelously, repeats ceaselessly the name of that obscure village. Borville! His thought returns continually to that plateau—military students say that peak—a plateau in two parts, the Haut du Mont and the Bormont, which dominates the country, and upon which he wishes to establish his strongest artillery before daybreak.

During the whole night of the 24th, a night that is heavy and starless, the cavalry batteries of the Sixteenth Corps, all that could be called in time, are hurrying up that mountainside. We are going to see them, during the day of the 25th, hurling their thunderbolts from morning till night upon the German advance, barring its passage, making it vacillate, driving it back and saving the Moselle.

Elsewhere the troops from the Alps, freed by Italy, have arrived at the rear of the Charmes front.

To the Students of Liège

(August 1914)

By BERNARD FREEMAN TROTTER

[The author of this poem, a Canadian and a graduate of McMaster University, Toronto, was killed at the front in France, June, 1917.]

In old Liège, when those dark tidings came
Of German honor callously forsworn
And the red menace that should bring the scorn
Of ages on the Kaiser's name and shame
And crown their city with a deathless fame,
The students wrote, they say, that Summer morn
For their degrees, then joined the hope forlorn
Of Liberty, and passed in blood and flame.

O valiant souls! who loved not Duty less
Than Honor, whom no fears could move to shirk
The common task, no tyrant's threat subdue
When Right and Freedom called in their distress—
Not vain your sacrifice nor lost your work;
The World's free heart beats high because of you!

Lord Haldane's Mission to Germany

Important Official Conversations at Berlin in 1906 and 1912 Bearing on Issues of the War

RICHARD BURDON HALDANE, now Viscount Haldane, was British Secretary for War under the Premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and in September, 1906, he accepted an invitation from the German Kaiser to visit Berlin at the time of the military manoeuvres. He was working in close connection with Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Minister, with whom, in December, 1905, he had begun the international discussions which led to the entente with France regarding military assistance in case France should be invaded.

Before his trip to Berlin he had conversed with the French General Staff. The idea of these conversations was that, if Germany attacked France, Great Britain should help with an expeditionary force to hold the French frontier opposite Belgium. Haldane was convinced that assistance could not be given within a reasonable time, and bent all his thoughts toward organization for extreme rapidity in mobilization and transport, which meant complete reorganization of the British Army. The system then established served as the effective basis for British military operations when war came eight years later.

Emperor William read a speech which Haldane had made to Germans in London, and invited him to attend the German Army manoeuvres. At Berlin the British War Secretary and his two assistants were allowed, at their request, to make a thorough study of the German War Office and its system. Afterward Haldane took part in several important official conversations on questions bearing upon the possibilities of just such a war as has since broken out. The British Government has never given the text of these conversations to the public, but they have been seen in printed form by men in Government positions, and on Sept. 1, 1917, The Manchester Guardian

published an article containing interesting portions of them. According to the writer of this article, Lieut. Gen. von Moltke, Chief of the German General Staff, in a conversation asked Haldane to put whatever questions he liked.

"In that case," replied Haldane, "I shall call for the plans for an invasion of England."

Von Moltke replied, "We have not one in the building," to which Haldane, looking out of the window toward the Admiralty, said, "Perhaps they are there." Von Moltke admitted that they were there, and that they were very good plans, too.

The Bagdad Railway

The article gives for the first time details of Emperor William's negotiations of the Bagdad Railway agreement. While visiting Windsor Castle in November, 1907, Emperor William took Haldane aside the first evening of his visit and said how sorry he was there was so much friction over the Bagdad Railway.

"My answer was we wanted a gate to protect India from troops coming down the new railway," said Haldane.

Asked what he meant by a gate, Haldane replied that he meant control of the furthest off section of the railway—the one nearest the Persian Gulf. To this Emperor William replied:

"I will give you the gate."

The Foreign Office regarded the negotiations favorably, but it was considered necessary to bring in France and Russia, whose interests also were involved. A conference in Berlin of the four powers was arranged with the support of Emperor William, but it was defeated at Berlin on the ground that an agreement about the Bagdad Railway was no business of Russia's.

This, says the article, was the first and clearest indication of two facts about German foreign policy—that the Emperor

was not quite master in his own house and that official Berlin was divided into two parties, one anxious for a working agreement between England, France, and Germany, and another, not yet avowedly a war party, regarding all these attempts as hopeless or dangerous, or both. Then, and for some time afterward, Emperor William belonged to the first party and genuinely was anxious for friendly relations with England. The Crown Prince, with Admiral von Tirpitz and the General Staff, and probably Prince von Bülow, belonged definitely to the second.

The party division became much sharper, and later was persisted in by Germany even after the war began. Haldane had German sympathizers in the same sense that Emperor William had English sympathizers, who believed it was for the good of the world that England and Germany should come to an understanding. The key to Haldane's whole policy was, while preparing against the eventual triumph of the anti-English party, to strengthen as far as possible those in Germany disposed to be friendly.

Haldane at Berlin in 1912

Viscount Haldane visited Berlin in the Spring of 1912, not to negotiate a treaty, but under instructions by Sir Edward Grey to discuss affairs freely and refer everything to the Cabinet. This visit was much more significant from the international point of view. It was after Agadir, when Germany realized for the first time that England meant to stand by France. It was brought home to the Kaiser by Mr. Lloyd George's statement at the Mansion House, as coming from the well-known pacifist of the time. The message was all the more significant, coming from him. But what really disturbed the Kaiser was the fact that Lord Haldane had mobilized—that is, he had had everything ready, and had but to touch the button to concentrate the troops. The Kaiser knew more about the mobilization scheme than English people did, and he did not like it. What he did not know was that the First Lord of the Admiralty at the time (Mr. McKenna) objected to providing transports to carry the expeditionary force to France. He

was in favor of military isolation. Mr. McKenna's opposition to the expeditionary force was the reason why he was moved from the Admiralty and Mr. Churchill put in his place. Mr. Churchill completed the transport arrangements in close co-operation with the War Office. Something like a joint staff was created.

The subjects of conversation at Berlin in 1912 were the general European situation and the German shipbuilding program in consequence of the growth and power of Germany as the head of the Triple Alliance. Naturally, there had been other powers which tended to approximate thereto, but there was no reason why the Triple Alliance and what was called the Triple Entente should not be friendly.

Viscount Haldane assured Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who seemed skeptical, that Great Britain had no agreement with France and Russia except as had been published. Great Britain's military preparations were not hostile. Referring to Morocco, Viscount Haldane said that if Germany had intended to attack France and destroy her capacity to defend herself Great Britain would have had such an interest in the result that she could not have stood by and seen it done.

Chancellor Makes Proposition

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg proposed as a formula that neither England nor Germany should enter into any combination against the other. Substantially the following conversation ensued:

Haldane—I don't like that way of putting it. Suppose Germany joined in an attack on Paris, or Belgium, or Portugal, which we are bound by our treaty obligations to defend.

The Chancellor, (satirically)—Or Holland.

Haldane—I am not clear about the treaty situation in regard to Holland, but supposing Germany were to pounce upon France and proceed to dismember her? England surely could not stand idly by.

The Chancellor—Yes, I suppose what you say is fatal to my formula.

Haldane—What about an undertaking against aggressive or unprovoked attack and against all combinations and plans directed to that end?

The Chancellor—But how can you

define what is meant by aggressive and unprovoked attack?

Haldane—How many grains make a heap? But one knows a heap when one sees one.

Haldane asked what good was an agreement if Germany was going to increase her battleships and force England to do the same. England, he said, certainly would have to lay down two keels to Germany's one.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was anxious to meet Haldane, says the writer in *The Manchester Guardian*, but evidently was nervous about what the Admiralty would say. The next day the question was discussed at luncheon with Emperor William, Admiral von Tirpitz, and Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg.

Haldane made the point that an agreement would be bones without flesh if Germany went on with her new fleet. The Emperor was visibly disturbed at the suggestion that there could be no political agreement worth having unless there was an agreement about German shipbuilding.

Admiral von Tirpitz said it was hard for Germany to make any admission about Great Britain's two-power standard. Haldane said the initiative was with Germany. The conversation resulted in the dropping of one battleship from Germany's program. Count zu Reventlow in his book asserted that three were dropped.

Tentative Agreement Reached

The next day the conversation between the Chancellor and Haldane resulted in a provisional approval of Haldane's formula for the entente, with the addition of three important articles. These were:

If either side became entangled in a war in which it could not be said to be

the aggressor the other would observe benevolent neutrality and try to localize the conflict.

The neutrality should not apply where there were no reconcilable existing contracts. The contracting powers were to do all in their power to prevent differences between them and other powers.

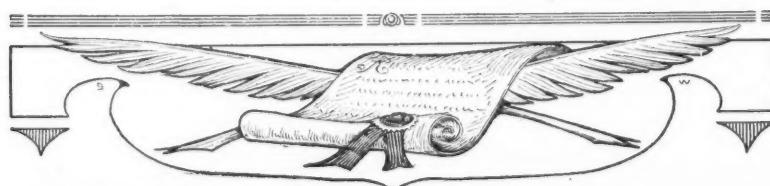
The Chancellor offered England an exceptional position in the railway between Bagdad and Basra. Haldane asked for the controlling position. Germany was to recognize England's political interests in the Persian Gulf and Southern Persia and to help England get from Turkey a concession for an extension of the railway from Basra to Koweit. Germany asked certain territorial changes in Africa.

The article says that the proposed settlement was, on the whole, favorable to England, except that Turkey was drifting into the position of a dependency of Germany. Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg would have yielded on the naval difficulty for the sake of an agreement in the Near East, but Admiral von Tirpitz had his way for the sake of a few ships which have been of no value to Germany in the war.

The article concludes:

"Haldane tried by every means consistent with Great Britain's interest and honorable obligations to strengthen the hands of the moderates in Germany, while his enemies have strengthened the hands of the extremists and supplied them with arguments that England, despite her fair professions, was the real enemy.

"Considering the political forces at work, the war may have been inevitable, but those who tried to make headway against the current have no reason to regret their endeavor."



Secret Diplomacy of Two Autocrats

The Kaiser-Czar Correspondence

SIXTY-FIVE telegrams exchanged by the German Kaiser and the Czar of Russia in 1904-07 were discovered in the Czar's secret archives at Petrograd, where a correspondent of The New York Herald obtained and published them. The documents had been unknown even to the Russian Ministers of State, and the world would probably never have learned of their existence but for the sudden deposing of the Czar. They are vouched for by Vladimir Burtseff and M. Schegoloff, who have charge of the imperial Russian archives, and any lingering doubt of their authenticity was removed on Sept. 8 by the publication of a German semi-official communiqué in the Rhenish Westphalian Gazette and other Government organs in the following terms:

There was an exchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and the Czar in 1904 and 1905 with the object of defeating English pressure and maintaining peace. The exchange arose from the fact that Britain at that time put difficulties in the way of provisioning and coaling the Russian fleet on an Eastern voyage by German supply ships. The Kaiser's proposal for common action was met by the Czar with a far-reaching proposal for a treaty.

Probably the publication of this correspondence at the present moment will produce an appearance of autocratic action to support President Wilson's message to the Pope, but it should be realized that at that time the Czar held an autocratic position and the Kaiser would have been guilty of grave dereliction of duty if he had not exercised his personal influence with him. It is a great pity that the Kaiser's efforts failed, for otherwise the world might have been spared the present war.

Plot to Isolate England

The correspondence was carried on in English, and was so intimate that the two sovereigns signed themselves "Willy" and "Nicky." The period was that of the Russo-Japanese war, and the Kaiser made many suggestions as to how to conduct it. His chief object, how-

ever, was the formation of a triple alliance, consisting of Germany, Russia, and France, for the isolation of England. With this end in view, as the telegrams reveal, he made strenuous efforts to get the Czar to sign a secret treaty with him, which was to be unknown to Russia's ally, France, until after it was completed; then France would confront a *fait accompli* and would have to join. It appears that such a treaty was actually signed by both Emperors, but was afterward torn up when Count Witte discovered its existence.

But the real significance of the Willy-Nicky correspondence, as one commentator remarks, was neither in the Kaiser's disposition to meddle everywhere, nor in the Czar's weak willingness to betray France, but in the proof that two autocrats could thus plot in secret to dispose of vast national and international interests, very much in the spirit of two sovereigns planning to give each other a new uniform or decoration. Nowhere appeared an intimation that there was a Government to be consulted. The whole affair was kept from the knowledge of Chancellors and Foreign Ministers.

Paris and the British Fleet

The text of the principal telegram from the Kaiser to the Czar is as follows:

Berlin, Oct. 27, 1904.

For some time the English press has been threatening Germany that she must on no account allow coals to be sent to the Baltic fleet, now on its way out. It is not impossible that the Japanese and British Governments may launch joint protests against our coaling your ships, coupled with a summons to stop further work. The result aimed at by such a threat of war would be the absolute immobility of your fleet and its inability to proceed for want of fuel.

This new danger would have to be faced in common by Russia and Germany together, who would both have to remind your ally France of the obligations she took over in the treaty of the dual alliance with you in the event of a *casus*

foederis arising. It is out of the question that France on such invitation would try to shirk her implicit duty toward her ally. Though Delcassé is Anglophilic and would be enraged, he would be wise enough to understand that the British fleet is utterly unable to save Paris.

In this way a powerful combination of the three strongest Continental powers would be formed, to attack which the Anglo-Saxon group would think twice. Before acting you ought not to forget to order new ships, so as to be ready with some of them when the war is over. They will be excellent persuaders during the peace negotiations. Our private firms would be most glad to receive contracts.

The Dogger Bank Incident

In the night of Oct. 21, 1904, Russia's Baltic fleet, on its way to Japanese waters, sighted what its excited officers believed to be two Japanese torpedo boats in the North Sea near the Dogger Bank, and opened fire on them—with the result that they sank one British trawler, killing two fishermen and wounding six. The Czar's next telegram to the Kaiser shows how the incident played into Germany's hands, so far as the desired anti-British treaty was concerned:

St. Petersburg, Oct. 28, 1904.

Of course, you know the first details of the North Sea incident from our Admiral's telegram. Naturally, it completely alters the situation. I have no words to express my indignation with England's conduct. I agree fully with your complaints about England's behavior concerning the coaling of our ships by German steamers. Whereas she understands the rules of keeping neutrality in her own fashion, it is certainly high time to put a stop to this.

The only way, as you say, would be that Germany, Russia, and France should at once unite upon arrangements to abolish English and Japanese arrogance and insolence. Would you like to lay down and frame the outlines of such a treaty? As soon as it is accepted by us France is bound to join her ally.

In acknowledging the draft of the Treaty, the Czar telegraphed to the Kaiser as follows:

St. Petersburg, Nov. 23, 1904.

Before signing the last draft I think it advisable to let the French see it. So long as it is unsigned one can make small modifications in the text. I ask your agreement to my acquainting the Government of France with this project, and upon getting their answer I shall at once let you know by telegraph.

Hoodwinking France

Then the Czar changed his mind about showing the treaty to France. On Nov. 26, 1904, the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar as follows:

You have given me new proof of your perfect loyalty by deciding not to inform France without my consent. It is my firm conviction that it would be absolutely dangerous to inform France before we have both signed the treaty. It would have an effect diametrically opposed to our wishes. It is only the absolute and sure knowledge that we are both bound by the treaty to lend each other mutual help that will bring France to press upon England to remain quiet and keep the peace for fear of France's position being jeopardized.

Should, however, France know that a Russo-German treaty is only projected and still unsigned, she will immediately give short notice to her friend, if not secret ally, England, to whom she is bound by the entente cordiale, and inform her immediately. The outcome of such information would doubtless be an instantaneous attack by the two allied powers, England and Japan, on Germany, in Europe as well as in Asia. Their enormous maritime superiority would soon make short work of my small fleet, and Germany would be temporarily crippled.

This would upset the scales of the equilibrium of the world to our mutual harm, and, later on, when you begin your peace negotiations, would throw you alone on the tender mercies of Japan and her jubilant and overwhelming friends. It was my special wish, and, as I understood it, your intention, too, to maintain and strengthen this endangered equilibrium of the world through an express agreement between Russia, Germany, and France. That is only possible if your treaty becomes a fact before the previous information of France leads to catastrophe.

On the following day the Kaiser telegraphed to the Czar as follows:

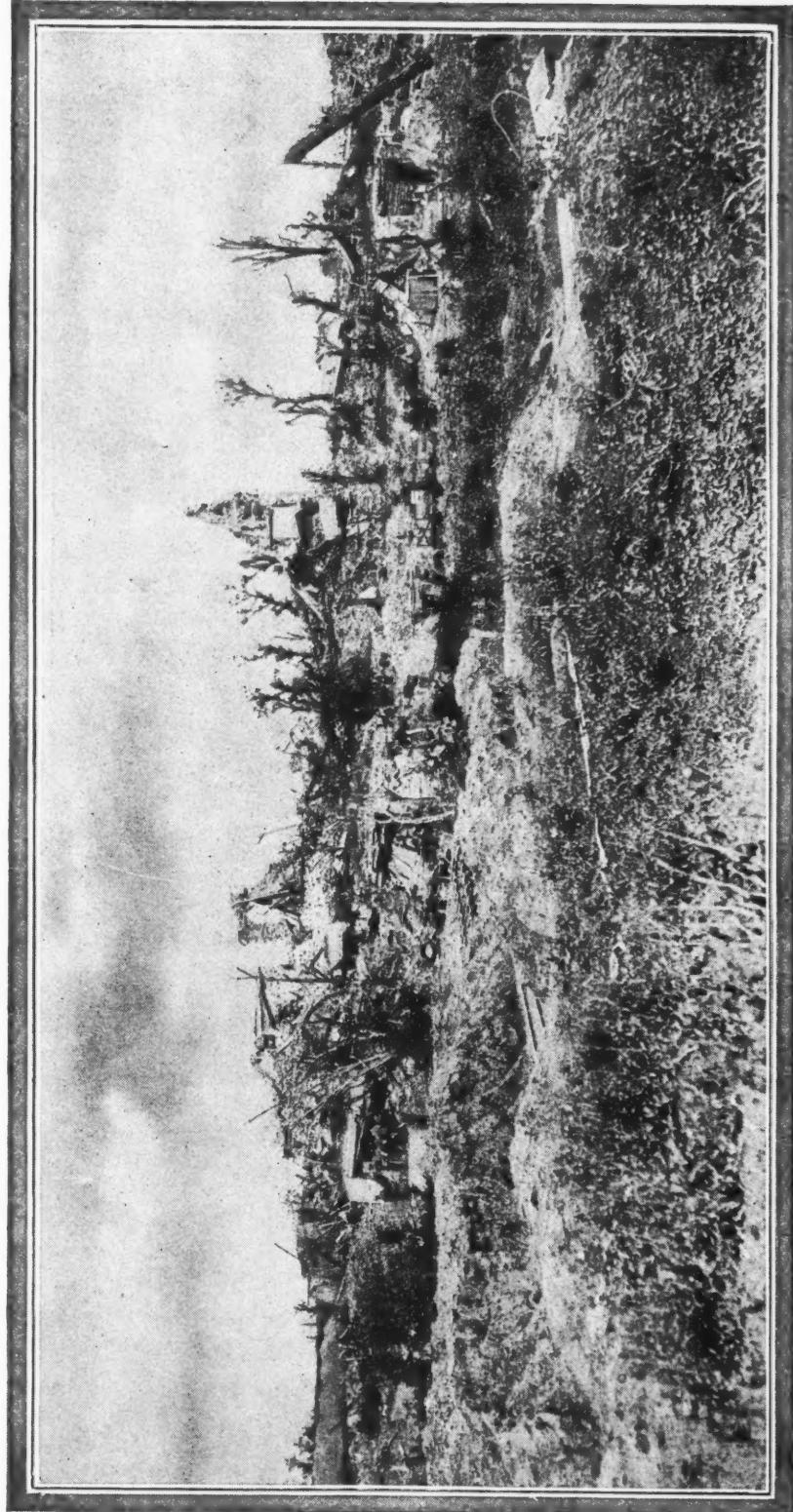
Berlin, Nov. 27, 1904.

Today again serious news has reached me from Port Said and Cape Town. There is now no time to be lost. No third power must hear even a whisper about our intentions before we conclude the convention about the coaling business. The consequences otherwise would be most dangerous. I, of course, place full reliance on your loyalty.

The Czar Nicholas replied on Nov. 28, 1904:

I fully agree that both our Governments must now come to a permanent under-

RUINS OF LA COULOTTE, CAPTURED BY CANADIANS



(Canadian Official Photo from Western Newspaper Union)
All That Was Left of the French Village of La Coulotte, Near Lens, When It Was Captured by the Canadians After Fierce Fighting

IN THE CRATER ZONE ON THE WESTERN FRONT



Shellholes Filled With Water After Heavy Rains Have Been One of the Causes of Numerous Transportation Difficulties During the British Offensive

(Canadian Official Photo)

standing. You may fully rely on my loyalty and my wish to arrive at a speedy settlement of this serious question.

The Secret Treaty Signed

During the following year the telegraphic correspondence continued at intervals, ranging over various international questions of the hour. Russia had been beaten and the peace negotiations were in progress at Portsmouth, N. H., but the Kaiser continued to offer advice to his pliable friend, seeking always to make capital for himself at the expense of France and England. The telegram which indicates that the Willy-Nicky treaty was actually signed, though never revealed to France, was sent by the Kaiser at the end of September:

Gluchburgostsee, Sept. 29, 1905.

The working of treaty does not—as we agreed at Bioerkö—collide with the Franco-Russian alliance, provided, of course, the latter is not aimed directly at my country. On the other hand, the obligations of Russia toward France can only go so far as France merits them through her behavior. Your ally has notoriously left you in the lurch during the whole war, whereas Germany helped you in every way as far as it could without infringing the laws of neutrality. That puts Russia morally also under obligations to us; do ut des.

Meanwhile the indiscretions of Delcassé have shown the world that though France is your ally she nevertheless made an agreement with England and was on the verge of surprising Germany, with British help, in the middle of peace, while I was doing my best to you and your country, her ally. This is an experiment which she must not repeat again and against a repetition of which I must expect you to guard me. I fully agree with you that it

will cost time, labor, and patience to induce France to join us both, but the reasonable people will in future make themselves heard and felt. Our Moroccan business is regulated to entire satisfaction, so that the air is free for better understanding between us. Our treaty is a very good base to build upon. We joined hands and signed before God, who heard our vows. I therefore think that the treaty can well come into existence.

But if you wish any changes in the words or clauses or provisions for the future or different emergencies—as, for instance, the absolute refusal of France, which is improbable—I gladly await any proposals you will think fit to lay before me. Till these have been laid before me and are agreed upon the treaty must be adhered to by us as it is. The whole of your influential press, Nowosti, Nowie Wremja, Russj, &c., have since a fortnight become violently anti-German and pro-British. Partly they are bought by heavy sums of British money, no doubt. Still it makes my people very chary and does great harm to the relations newly growing between our countries. All these occurrences show that times are troubled and that we must have clear courses to steer; the treaty we signed is a means of keeping straight, without interfering with your alliance as such. What is signed is signed, and God is our testator. I shall await your proposals. Best love to Alix.

WILLY.

The exchange of telegrams continued intermittently until Aug. 2, 1907, but more briefly and with less cordiality on the Kaiser's part after the failure of his proposed triple alliance against Great Britain. The full story of how Count Witte, the Russian statesman, using the Berlin bankers as a lever, compelled the abandonment of the project still remains to be revealed when the German Kaiser's secret archives some day come to light.



How Turkey Joined the Germans

A Question of the Date Raised by a Secret Telegram From Berlin to King Constantine

TURKEY did not declare war against any of the Allies until Nov. 5, 1914, three months after the beginning of the great conflict. During that time the Entente Powers accepted Turkey's protestations of neutrality and sought to enlist Turkish sympathies on their side. Was Turkey deceiving the Allies all that time? The question is raised by the publication of a secret telegram in the Greek White Book, which was laid before the Chamber of Deputies at Athens on Aug. 18, 1917. The telegram is from M. Theotokis, the Greek Minister at Berlin, and is dated Aug. 4, 1914. On that day the Kaiser summoned Theotokis to an audience, read a telegram just received from King Constantine, and instructed the Greek Minister to reply as follows:

The Emperor informs me that an alliance has this day been concluded between Germany and Turkey. Bulgaria and Rumania also are taking their stand alongside Germany. German warships in the Mediterranean are to join the Turkish fleet and act with it. By this action the King of the Hellenes will see that all the Balkan States have joined Germany in the struggle against Slavism.

The Kaiser asks you to mobilize your army, place yourself at his side, and march with him hand-in-hand against Slavism and the common enemy. If Greece does not side with Germany there will be a complete breach between Greece and the empire.

The Emperor added: "What I ask today is the execution of what the two sovereigns have often discussed."

The next day Theotokis again telegraphed Constantine, saying Jagow had confirmed under seal of absolute secrecy the conclusion of an alliance between Germany and Turkey. Theotokis added that his impression was that the Emperor would not object to seeing Greece extend her territory at the cost of Serbia.

The London Times, always critical of the Asquith Government, accepts this "mortifying disclosure" at its face

value, holding that King Constantine and his Ministers knew of the German-Turkish alliance before Great Britain had even entered the war, whereas the Allies negotiated three months with Turkey while Turkey was already the sworn ally of Germany. "The Turks had actually to attack them before they would awaken to it," says The Times. "Our Ambassador at Constantinople was himself in England when the alliance was made, and seems to have returned to Constantinople with general instructions to work with the Turkish 'moderates,' though the Turkish Government, as we now know, was already committed against us. So late as Oct. 12 his anxiety was lest we should do anything which the Turks might interpret as aggressive, and thus weaken the resistance which these moderates were offering to Enver."

A diplomatic correspondent of The Westminster Gazette, however, presents an entirely different view, and in doing so reveals so much inside knowledge that the main portions of his article are here reproduced:

May it be pointed out that the so-called "documentary evidence" consists of the bare word of the Kaiser and his Foreign Secretary, speaking to a notably pro-German Greek Minister, with the avowed purpose of dragging Greece into the war on the side of Germany? May it be further suggested that what was at that date an obvious lie as regards Rumania and Bulgaria was possibly not an unimpeachable truth as regards Turkey, and that when this statement is confronted with the actual facts, such as eyewitnesses recorded them in Constantinople, the very different impression is created that the public is put in the presence, not of any sensational disclosure of diplomatic secrets, but of a characteristic instance of the constant Prussian practice of using falsehood and misrepresentation as tools in diplomacy.

As soon as the news of the German declarations of war reached Constantinople, a council of Ministers was summoned at the Porte to discuss the situation. In the course of that council the Minister

of War, Enver Pasha, moved a resolution that Turkey should immediately side with Germany. He found himself alone in his opinion, all the Ministers without exception declaring themselves against the proposal. Unfortunately, when Enver, as a subsidiary motion, proposed a partial mobilization, which he qualified as the pure precautionary measure which neutral neighbors always take, this was granted, and thus his personal power was dangerously enhanced.

That Enver Pasha henceforward became more and more troublesome, bullied his colleagues, and never ceased to advocate an alliance with Germany, there is not the slightest doubt. But there is also no doubt whatever that the Turkish dynasty, the great majority of the Turkish Cabinet, including the Grand Vizier, were steadfastly opposed to Turkey joining in the war, putting forward the reason that Turkey was already half ruined through the successive Tripoli and Balkan wars, and in the utmost need of rest and peace.

The Germans exerted all their cunning to help Enver. During the whole of August, 1914, they kept boldly asserting that Rumania had concluded an alliance with Germany and was ready to attack the Russians; in September, 1914, they asserted that the centre of the French Army had been broken through, the two wings routed, and France definitely put out of fighting condition. Even those tempting falsehoods did not prove persuasive. Not only did Enver fail to engineer a majority for war in the Turkish Cabinet, but some of his most important colleagues, the Grand Vizier included, openly declared that if ever such a majority was found they would immediately resign.

This lasted till the end of October, 1914, when the "coup" of the Black Sea was performed, that sudden aggression on the Russian harbors of Odessa and Theodosia by Turkish cruisers under command of German naval officers, which involved Turkey in the war. There is every reason to believe that it was accomplished by the Germans in understanding with Enver, because they realized that nothing but an unexpected and irretrievable accomplished fact could actually drive Turkey into that war alliance which they so ardently desired. With the exception of Enver, probably of the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, and of the President of the Council of State, Hallil Bey, and possibly of the Minister of Marine, Djemal Pasha, all the members of the Turkish Cabinet were taken by surprise, formally disapproved of war, sent a deputation to the French Embassy, begged

that the allied Ambassadors would not leave Constantinople, and offered apologies and an indemnity to Russia. They were told that either all the Germans must go—that is, all German naval and military instructors—or the Ambassadors would go themselves.

The Turkish Cabinet then begged that the mediation of America and Italy, still neutral, might be accepted, and that the Ambassadors would not leave. This was also rejected, and the Ambassadors left. Thereupon four Cabinet Ministers immediately resigned: Djavid Bey, Mahmoud Pasha, Oskan Effendi, and Boustani Effendi. The Grand Vizier declared that war was a "criminal folly," but was prevailed upon to remain in office by urgent and most likely threatening appeals to his patriotism. The aged and bodily and mentally weak Sultan was practically irresponsible. The Crown Prince Youssouf Izeddin Effendi, receiving in audience of departure a personal friend of allied allegiance, commissioned him to convey to M. Poincaré and to Sir Edward Grey the expression of his deep sorrow and of his sympathy with the Allies.

The presumption is that, on Aug. 4, the Kaiser was trying to drag in Greece by the inducement and threat of a Turkish alliance, as he since tried to drag in Turkey by the inducement and threat of a Rumanian alliance, and, most likely, was endeavoring to drag in Bulgaria by the inducement and threat of a Greek alliance. It is quite possible that on Aug. 4 some secret undertaking was given by Enver, acting personally, to Liman von Sanders or to Wangenheim. But between a secret personal understanding with a Minister, and an alliance concluded with the Cabinet of which that Minister is a member, there is always, in constitutional practice, and in the facts of the case there is especially, such an abyss of difference that, before pronouncing against the keen and able diplomats who fought to the last a hard fight in Constantinople, it were perhaps advisable to await more conclusive evidence than the obviously interested and palpably dubious assertions of Kaiser Wilhelm and Herr von Jagow.

The sudden death of the Turkish heir apparent, Prince Youssouf Izeddin, in the Spring of 1916, is generally believed to have been due to his anti-German attitude. Though the official reports ascribed his death to suicide, the Prince's friends declared he had been assassinated. The facts discussed in the foregoing article seem to have a direct bearing upon his fate.

Germany and the Armenian Atrocities

Cowardice of the Policy That Permitted and Abetted the Crime Denounced by a German

Dr. Harry Stürmer, a former German army officer and war correspondent, has written a book entitled "Two Years in Constantinople," in which he describes the cruelties with which the Turks almost exterminated the Armenians, while German diplomats and military leaders looked on without a protest. Writing from Switzerland, Dr. Stürmer denounces the German Government and tells the story of how the sight of the Armenians' sufferings changed his life.

I HAVE spoken to Armenians who said to me: "Formerly Sultan Abdul Hamid massacred us from time to time by thousands. At stated intervals, in regular pogroms, we were turned over to the knives of the Kurds, and certainly suffered terribly. After that the Young Turks, at Adana, in 1909, showed they, too, could shed the blood of thousands of us. But since our present sufferings, rest assured we look with longing back upon the massacres perpetrated under the old régime. Now we have to complain not of a definite number of murdered people; now our whole race is slowly but surely being exterminated by the chauvinistic hatred of an apparently civilized, apparently modern, but, for that very reason, terribly dangerous Government. Now they are taking our women and children, who die on those long wearisome trips on foot that they have to make while being deported, or in the concentration camps without anything to eat. The few pitiful survivors of our people in the villages and cities of the interior, where the local authorities eagerly carry out the Central Government's orders, are then forcibly converted to Islamism, and our young girls are put into harems and houses of prostitution.

"Now that the Young Turks find themselves bleeding white in a disastrous war, they are trying to right the balance of the races and permanently establish themselves as the predominant element in the country. That is why these are not merely abortive outbreaks, but calculated political measures against our people; and therefore we can hope for

no mercy. Since Germany, weak and conscienceless, permits our extermination, if the war lasts much longer the Armenian people will simply cease to exist. And so we now look back with regret to Abdul Hamid's times, terrible as they were."

Was there ever any more terrific tragedy in the history of a race? And this was a race quite free of all illusions of nationalism, cognizant that it would be helpless crowded in between two great nations. The Armenians had felt no real impulse toward Russia until the Young Turks, whose comrades they had been in revolt against Abdul Hamid, foully betrayed them. They had been completely loyal to their Osmanli citizenship, more so than any other element of the empire, with the exception of the Turks themselves.

Torture of a Victim

I believe I have in these few paragraphs sufficiently characterized the spirit animating this policy of extermination, as well as its results. I only wish to put in evidence one more incident, which affected me most because it was a matter of personal experience.

One Summer's day in 1916, at about noon, my wife went alone to the Grand Rue de Pera to do some shopping. We lived only a few steps from Galata Seraï, and daily could see the troops of unhappy Armenians enter the police station under escort of the gendarmes. Eventually you get hardened even to such sad sights and come to regard them not as individual but as political misfortunes. But this time my wife returned after a few minutes, all a-tremble. She hadn't

been able to go on. As she passed the "Caracol" she heard the sound of some one being tortured, muffled groans as of some animal in agony, half dead of pain. "An Armenian," was what a person standing at the entrance of the building told her.

At that moment the crowd was driven away by a policeman.

"If such things can be done in the bright light of day in the busiest part of the European city of Pera, then I wonder what they do to the poor Armenians in the uncivilized districts of the interior?" asked my wife. "If the Turks behave like wild beasts here in the capital, so that a woman can't go into the main street without meeting with this kind of terrible shock, then I can't go on living in this fearsome country."

Then she gave utterance to her boundless indignation at what, for more than a year, she had seen whenever we went out on to the streets: "You are brutes, contemptible brutes, you Germans, to allow the Turks to do this. You have the country absolutely in hand. Cowardly brutes you are, and I'm never going to set foot in your accursed land again."

At the moment when my wife, in her sorrow, indignation, and disgust at such cowardice, broke out into tears and flung at me her curse against my country, at that moment I mentally tore the ties that bound me to Germany. Truly, I had known enough for a long time.

German Assurances Distrusted

I remembered the conversations I had had with gentlemen from the German Embassy in Constantinople, and also with the American Ambassador, Morgenthau, about the Armenian question. I had never believed in the assurances, given out by the German Embassy, that it, the German Embassy, had done everything possible to stop the murderous persecutions of harmless Armenians, a long distance away from the front, who, from their very nature and social position, were in no position to meddle with political matters. I equally distrusted the German Embassy's assertion that it had done all it could to prevent the deported women and children—deported, no doubt, for that very purpose—from being al-

lowed to perish. On the contrary, I gathered the impression that the German Government's conduct in the Armenian matter was controlled by a mixture of motives—on the one hand, cowardice and lack of conscience; on the other, by shortsighted stupidity.

The American Ambassador, who warmly espoused the Armenian cause, naturally preserved a good deal of reserve when talking to a German journalist like myself, and would not give his real opinion of the conduct of his German colleague. Nevertheless, in my many conversations with this sympathetic person, who has done so much for humanity in Turkey, I heard nothing which would tend to destroy my impression of the German Embassy's conduct, and yet I gave some indication of my impression during my conversations with Mr. Morgenthau.

Germany's attitude gave evidence of the most shameless cowardice, I have said. We certainly had sufficient control of the Turkish Government in military, financial, and political matters to be able at least to force it to observe the most elementary rules of humanity. Enver, no less than Talaat, chiefly responsible for the Armenian persecutions in his capacity as Minister of the Interior and practical dictator, would have had no choice but to follow Germany unconditionally, once the alliance and war were entered into. They would have accepted an order to stop the Armenian massacres with gnashing of teeth, but unquestioningly, nevertheless. * * * I had been witness of the plight of a German lady, married to an Armenian deported en bloc with many others, who came daily to the embassy antechamber, weeping and asking for help. Yet the embassy always turned a deaf ear to her plea.

Even the Turks laughed at us for this boundless exhibition of cowardice; they said that the Russian Government, in spite of the abrogation of the capitulations, would, in Germany's position, surely have made a serious affair if the same thing had happened to a poor Russian Jew. Turks generally, in spite of their accustomed formal amiability, let me feel their contempt for our boundless lack of backbone. * * *

German Diplomats Blamed

I can't help imagining that, in spite of pretty official speeches, which I often heard at the German Embassy about the Armenian problem, the diplomats at bottom had very little interest in the salvation of this people. How do I come to make such a frightful charge? I was often at the German Embassy when the Armenian Patriarch, after some particularly terrible attack upon his people, came with tears in his eyes, and begged for help. And I never could discern anything in the excited hurrys hither and thither of our diplomats except anxiety to preserve German prestige and wounded vanity, but never a worry for the fate of the Armenian people. I time and again heard from German lips from all sorts of individuals, from the lowest to the highest, expressions of hatred, based on absolute misunderstanding of the facts, against the Armenians, unconsidered repetitions of the official Turkish publications.

And, unfortunately, the fact has been established by nurses and doctors returning from the interior that German officers, more eager than some of the Turkish officials of local districts, who hated to carry out the instructions of the Committee of Union and Progress, light-heartedly took part in the extermination and expulsion of the Armenians. A well-known instance, and one sufficiently established by proof, was that of two traveling German officers who came to a little village in further Asia Minor, where some Armenians had taken refuge in the interior of a house, refusing to be driven away like animals. Guns had been placed in position to drive them out of their shelter. But no Turks were to be found with the courage to carry out orders and fire on women and children. These German officers, then, without any orders, took up the matter as a sporting affair, and seized the occasion to show their skill in artillery practice. Certainly such shameful occurrences were not taking place daily, but they exactly fit in with the spirit which inspired the utterances of dozens of highly educated, highly placed Germans—not military people—with regard to the Armenians.

Just such a case, however, of criminal interference by military persons, in the interior of Anatolia, was officially brought to the attention of the embassy. At that time Count Wolff-Metternich happened to be the German Ambassador, a man who, in spite of his years, and in contrast to Freiherr von Wangenheim, victim of a weak and criminal optimism and pro-Turk blindness, now and then dared to oppose the Turkish Government. In the present instance he reported the matter to Germany; whereupon this very crime which he reported was made the pretext for his dismissal. * * *

Policy Called Stupid

And, finally, it was a shortsighted piece of stupidity on the part of our officials to stand by and witness the extermination of the Armenians without raising a finger to interfere. For the rising tide of Turkish chauvinism eventually had to be faced by our Government. Nobody with any foresight at all could have had a moment's doubt, after the Summer of 1915, that Turkey would only stick to us as long as she absolutely needed our military and financial help; that there would be no room for us in a completely victorious entirely Turkish Turkey; that we wouldn't even have a commercial chance. Nevertheless, we allowed a large element of the population, 1,500,000 souls, to be wiped out; an element which was progressive, possessed of a European outlook, intellectually adaptable, without a spark of chauvinism or fanaticism, disposed to be our friend. We simply didn't worry at all about this people, which is bound, eventually, to recover from its fearful misfortunes, and will hereafter be our deadliest enemy, instead of, as formerly, sincerely in sympathy with German aims.

The mixture of "consciencelessness," cowardice, and blindness displayed by our Government in the Armenian matter, alone would suffice to undermine the loyalty of any thinking human being who believes in humanity and civilization. Not every German will light-heartedly, like those diplomats of Pera, face the shame of having history note that the refined and cruel extermination of a civilized and worthy people coincided with

the period of Germany's hegemony in Turkey.

I frequently reported home to my newspaper matter concerning the Armenian persecutions and the fact that they were due to a guiding spirit of bestial Young Turk chauvinism. The Foreign Office followed these reports with interest. But I never saw any evidence in

my newspaper that my expositions of the situation were bearing fruit.

Finally, at the time my wife, in such dramatic fashion, flung her curse in Germany's teeth, I resolved no longer to represent my newspaper. I have to thank the sufferings of those poor massacred and tortured Armenians for my spiritual and moral-political enfranchisement.

Armenians Killed With Axes by Turks

Harrowing Account by President of Anatolia College

THE slaughter of all the Armenian Faculty members of Anatolia College, Marsovan, Northern Asia Minor, with 1,200 others, by Turkish peasants, whose pay for the work was the privilege of stripping the clothing off their victims' bodies, was described by the Rev. George E. White, President of the college, upon his return to the United States in the Autumn of 1917. The massacres were committed at night by order of the Turkish Government, he said, the Armenians being sent out in lots of a hundred or two hundred to their doom and their bodies rolled into prepared burial trenches.

"One group of our college boys asked permission to sing before they died and they sang 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' then they were struck down," Dr. White said. The number of Armenians who have been massacred is estimated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief in New York City at from 500,000 to 1,000,000, while there are a million still living in need of immediate aid. Dr. White, who is now living in Minneapolis, was ordered to leave Marsovan by the Turkish Government. He was formerly pastor of the Congregational Church in Waverley, Iowa.

"The situation for Armenia," he said, "became excessively acute in the Spring of 1915, when the Turks determined to eliminate the Armenian question by eliminating the Armenians. The Armenian questions arise from political and religious causes.

"On the pretext of searching for de-

serting soldiers, concealed bombs, weapons, seditious literature or revolutionists, the Turkish officers arrested about 1,200 Armenian men at Marsovan, accompanying their investigations by horrible brutalities. There was no revolutionary activity in our region whatever. The men were sent out in lots of one or two hundred in night 'deportations' to the mountains, where trenches had been prepared. Coarse peasants, who were employed to do what was done, said it was a 'pity to waste bullets,' and they used axes.

"Then the Turks turned on the women and children, the old men and little boys. Scores of oxcarts were gathered, and in the early dawn as they passed the squeaking of their wheels left memories that make the blood curdle even now. Thousands of women and children were swept away. Where? Nowhere. No destination was stated or intended. Why? Simply because they were Armenians and Christians and were in the hands of the Turks.

"Girls and young women were snatched away at every turn on the journey. The girls sold at Marsovan for from \$2 to \$4 each. I know, because I heard the conversation of men engaged in the traffic. I know because I was able to ransom three girls at the price of \$4.40.

"The misery, the agony, the suffering were beyond power of words to express, almost beyond the power of hearts to conceive. In bereavement, thirst, hunger, loneliness, hopelessness, the groups were swept on and on along roads which had no destination.

"I received word from Ambassador Morgenthau that our premises would not be interfered with. Next morning the Chief of Police came with armed men and demanded surrender of all Armenians connected with the college, girls' school, and hospital. We claimed the right to control our grounds as American citizens. More than two hours we held them at bay. They brought more armed men. They again demanded surrender of the Armenians. I refused. They challenged me for resisting the Turkish Government. They said any one who did so was liable to immediate execution.

"They broke open our gates, brought in ox carts, and asked where the Armenians were. I refused to tell. They went through the buildings, smashing down the doors. Then our Armenian friends, feeling that further attempt on our part to save them would bring more harm probably than good, came forth, professed themselves loyal Turkish subjects, and offered to do what was required.

"An oxcart was assigned each family, with a meagre supply of food, bedding, and clothing. The mother sat on the load with her children about her, the father prepared to walk beside the cart. I offered prayer, and then the sad procession, carrying seventy-two persons from the college and hospital, moved away.

"These teachers were men of character, education, ability, and usefulness, several of them representing the fine type of graduates from American or

European universities. The company went in safety for about fifty miles. Then the men were separated from the women, their hands were bound behind their backs, and they were led away. The eight Armenian members of the staff of instruction of Anatolia College were among the slain. The women and children were moved on and on. No one knows where, and no one knows how many of them are still living.

"The Government officers plowed the Armenian cemetery in Marsovan and sowed it with grain as a symbol that no Armenian should live or die to be buried there. No Armenian student or teacher was left to Anatolia College, and of the Protestant congregation in the city of 950 souls more than 900, with their pastors, were swept away. It was a Government movement throughout—a movement against the Armenian people.

"These things are typical of what took place through the six provinces of the Turkish Empire known as Armenia. The Armenians are the Yankees of the East—the merchants, manufacturers, capitalists, artisans, and among the best of the farmers. One-quarter of a million people succeeded in escaping into Russian Caucasus, and among them American representatives have done wonderful work in caring for the sick, giving bread to the hungry, clothing the naked, caring for orphans. Probably a million more went to Syria and Mesopotamia, where they have been dependent upon American relief, which is helping this worthy people to pull through alive."

The Appalling Plight of Serbia

A Chapter of Balkan Atrocities

DETAILS of the terrible plight of the surviving population in Serbia have penetrated the veil of silence in sufficient numbers to establish the certainty that in the Autumn of 1917 the unfortunate nation is rapidly perishing of starvation and cruelty. The

story of atrocities extends back to the very beginning of Bulgar-Teutonic occupation. Dr. Anthony Anthanasiados, a physician formerly in the service of the Serbian Government, furnished The London Times with the following narrative from Serbian Field Headquarters:

When the Serbian Army retreated in the Autumn of 1915 I was at my headquarters at Prishmina and decided to stay there. Bulgarian cavalry entered the town Nov. 11, followed by German and Austrian infantry. The first day the troops behaved well. On the morrow, seeing that the shops remained closed, the troops plundered them bare. The Germans led in the pillage.

The violence was not confined to the shops, but private dwellings, too, were looted. The houses then were torn down and the wood was used for fuel. Several forcible contributions were levied upon the town, provisions being seized whenever they were not forthcoming on demand. The Germans took all the beds from the Serbian hospitals, turning adrift the occupants, even those suffering from severe wounds. These beds they sent to Austria.

Soon the invaders began to intern townsfolk, principally school teachers and priests, of whom not one was left at liberty. The Turkish residents had been rejoicing before the arrival of the allies of Turkey, but they soon had cause to regret their attitude. One Turkish notable told me his people were exasperated beyond endurance by the dishonoring of their women at the hands of the Bulgars and Austro-Germans. German officers were among the criminals. Often the Turkish citizens were compelled to be the spectators of such scenes.

Finally I was able to leave and arrived at Belgrade, where I found conditions similar. The houses had been pillaged and many trainloads of loot sent to Austria. I was forced to proceed to Nish, where I became acquainted with several Bulgarians whom I attended in my professional capacity. One of them, Dr. Tendas, related that he caused twenty-four Serbian professors to be brought to a certain orchard, where, with his own hands, he brained them all. I overheard another Bulgarian telling quite calmly how he had killed two priests and two school teachers. All this was done with the object of eradicating the Serbian population.

A Lieutenant's Experience

The Serbian Legation in London issued in September, 1917, a harrowing account of the sufferings of the Serbian people as related by Vidak Koprivitsa, a Lieutenant in the Serbian Combined Division, who, as an invalid, was recently exchanged by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, and is now in a hospital in France.

Lieutenant Koprivitsa, writing to Serbian friends in England, says that he was taken prisoner along with other

seriously wounded Serbian officers in the advance of the Austrians on Vrntsi. The enemy immediately conducted a search of all houses in all the villages and towns of this district and requisitioned all available food, leaving only half a pound of flour per head. Some days afterward the wounded officers who had been left on the road between Kraljevo and Bashka were brought into the hospital in which Lieutenant Koprivitsa was lying. They told terrible stories of what they had seen on the journey; the road was strewn with corpses of fugitives who had been killed by the Germans by the side of their carts and wagons. The Germans had done their horrid work to the cries of little children and the wailing of their mothers.

The German General who visited the town asked Prince Lopkovitch why he had not yet erected the gallows. The Austrians quickly took the hint and put up gallows in all the larger towns and villages, and pictures showing people hanging on them were soon circulated and distributed among the population. From Vrntsi the Lieutenant and his fellow-sufferers were removed to Keczkemet, and some months later to a town called Briks, where was an internment camp for Russians. After a stay of five days at Briks they were removed to Heinrichsgrun, where in the earlier days of 1916 there had been 30,000 Serbian soldiers and 200 Serbian officers. In this camp the misery was appalling. At first from twenty-five to thirty persons were dying daily, and the number grew rapidly. Many of the unhappy Serbian soldiers found their graves there through starvation, disease, and hard labor in the mines. Officers as well as soldiers were barefooted and in rags—mere ghosts of men.

The Camp of Death

The wounded men were given some wretched wash, which went by the name of soup. The "bread" they could hardly swallow, it was so bitter. It was made out of horse chestnuts, acorns, and potato peelings. The officers in the hospitals four times a week received as a special favor about a quarter of a pound of horseflesh and some rye bread. The huts were deadly places, and the nights

were bitterly cold, not only because of the wretched shelter, but owing to the lack of covering. There were 3,000 men affected by tuberculosis who were absolutely without care or attention. Heinrichsgrun was just a Serbian cemetery, rows of graves being continually added with due regularity as fresh batches of prisoners came in. Here died more than 20,000 victims. The complaints and cries for help of the dying men directed to the Serbian Red Cross and to the Spanish Ambassador in Vienna brought no response.

In August, 1916, Bulgarian officers visited this camp and began to pick out as "recruits" those men who hailed from the territories in Serbia occupied by the armies of King Ferdinand. At the beginning of September, 1916, the Lieutenant was removed to Aschach, where 150 officers and 25,000 soldiers were crowded together. Here there reigned the same grim horrors. From this camp, as well as from others, the Austrians carried away Serbian soldiers to the Italian front in order that they might work on the construction of fortifications and in trench digging. In these camps are placed along with the prisoners of war interned civilians—women, old men, and children—a great many children between 10 and 12 years of age. The Lieutenant saw with his own eyes these wretched boys and girls picking up scraps of food from the drain-courses.

Letter Written in Blood

A letter in possession of the Serbian authorities, written by a Serbian who had barely escaped hanging by the Bulgarian authorities, was published in the Paris newspapers in August, 1917. It revealed the fact that there had been a futile attempt at insurrection in April, 1917, followed by even greater cruelties than those which had provoked it. The writer was a refugee in the mountains, and the letter, written with his own blood for ink, was smuggled out by a Serbian sentry. It advises all Serbians to kill themselves rather than submit to capture; it tells of the forcible deportation of thousands of children to Constantinople; of the frightful tortures inflicted upon prisoners before they are

executed by the Bulgarians, such as hanging by the tongue; of gibbets erected everywhere to dispose of Serbian prisoners of war, especially of insurrectionists.

The names of both sender and recipient have been suppressed for obvious reasons, but both are on file in the Serbian archives with the original of the letter, which runs in part as follows:

I escaped April 25 from the Bulgarian prison where I was incarcerated with twenty comrades after having been surrounded and captured in the revolt near —. I was taken, put in prison and condemned to be hanged, but during the night my friend — arrived with a band in Prokouplie, killed the sentinels and rescued me. In consequence I was able to reach the mountains. There are more than 5,000 of us insurgents. Nearly all of the other mountains are filled with insurgents.

The Bulgarians had summoned all the male population between the ages of 16 and 65 in order to incorporate them in the army and send them immediately to the front. At the same time they had gathered together all the young people between 13 and 16 and had sent them to Constantinople. It was this vandal process of these monstrous Mongols that provoked the revolt.

The unfortunate mothers, exasperated by the cries of their children as they were carried off by force, attacked the Bulgarians with stones. This was a genuine revolt, to which the Bulgarians replied with gibbets to which they hanged women and children. Finally the people, exhausted and revolting, threw themselves upon the Bulgarian depots. Men and women carried off arms and ammunition, first to Prokouplie, then to Leskovatz, Lebane, Vrania, Vlassotintze, Zayetchar, Kniayevatz, Pojarevatz, and the villages.

Meanwhile two Bulgarian divisions arrived, and a bloody battle developed; we should have been able to defeat the Bulgarians as we had defeated the Germans if they had not used a cowardly strategy to prevent us from attacking them; they forced the women and children to march in front of their ranks. Unable to fire upon our own people, we withdrew as far as Korvingrad, where a new battle began and where the Hungarians attacked us from behind. We made an opening and took refuge in the mountains. Since I was dead from fatigue I was taken prisoner, and with a dozen other insurgents was condemned to be hanged. Waiting while the gibbet was prepared, we were incarcerated in the prison of Prokouplie, but one of our bands killed the garrison and rescued us.

So here I am in the mountain of —. It may be that when you read these lines I shall no longer be among the living, but the insurrection cannot be snuffed out so easily, for the Bulgarians are proceeding systematically to exterminate our nation. On the 25th of April they placed aboard trains at Belotintze 8,000 children between the ages of 12 and 15, bound for Constantinople. Many of the children jumped from the cars along the way, and found death in that manner.

Victims of Exploitation

The Serbian Government on Aug. 29, 1917, issued a protest to the world against the treatment of Serbia by the Austrian and Bulgarian authorities. Referring to the economic exploitation of the occupied territory the protest said:

They (the Austrians and Bulgarians) change the laws on taxation and customs; they introduce new monopolies, abolish the moratorium; force the inhabitants to subscribe to their war loans and make donations to their Red Cross. From an economic standpoint they consider the regions occupied as definitely acquired by them.

The evident aim of their economic administration is to bring about the ruin of the inhabitants of the country under occupation. They have crushed with new taxation a people which was economically exhausted, and have forced on them new customs duties and fresh monopolies. They are extorting more than 100,000,000 crowns from this people for debts due to Austrians and Germans and in addition several million crowns for subscription to war loans. Serbian money (the only money in which our population could make its payments) has been arbitrarily reduced to one-half its value.

At the same time the Serbian Government gave notice that at the peace negotiations after the war Serbia would demand indemnities both for the Serbian State and for individuals.

Serbs Robbed of Harvests

According to a statement issued on Sept. 4, 1917, by the Serbian Press Bureau in London, the Austrians, Germans, and Bulgarians carried off all of this year's harvests in Serbia, depriving the surviving families of food. Meat, lard, butter, and spices are altogether unobtainable. Most families have only one loaf of bread a week. There is virtually no milk in Serbia, and thousands of women and children whose men folk perished

in the war are doomed to starve. According to this report, 80,000 Serbian prisoners have perished in Austria and Hungary.

The *Journal de Génève*, published in Switzerland, commenting upon Lord Robert Cecil's assurance of Serbia's ultimate liberation, grimly remarks that there may be no Serbs left alive to benefit by reparations and restitutions unless something is done in the meantime to save them. It continues:

Nobody knows the exact returns of the Serbian losses, but, according to the most optimistic estimates, one-fourth of the population has already perished owing to the war, to epidemics, to want of food, and to privations of all kinds. If we consider only the men, and more especially those of the educated classes, the proportion is even far greater. On account of this the birth rate will decrease for years, and of what value for the population will be the children who have lived or are born under the influence of such physiological distress? * * * Serbia is not being supplied with food, and her fate is therefore many times worse than that of Belgium.

The Americans and the Swiss gave her some help last year, but this work of charity is now interrupted because the Americans have themselves entered the war, and no longer have access to Serbia, and because Switzerland, being rationed, no longer disposes of foodstuffs for export, and is no longer permitted to procure them elsewhere to convey them to the necessitous Serbs, although she could do it in perfect safety, thanks to the facilities granted her by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

The same applies to the Serbian prisoners in the German and Austrian camps; there the last representatives of the flower of the manhood of the Serbian population are dying by inches. In Geneva one has seen several convoys of repatriated Serbs, all tubercular or scrofulous in consequence of their long privations and insufficient food.

Some Terrible Figures

Under the title "The Agony of Serbia" an article appeared in the September issue of *Justice*, signed by Kosta Novakovitch, Secretary of the Serbian Trade Unions in France and editor of the *Journal Ouvrier* of Belgrade, containing the following figures and statements:

As to Serbia itself, the state of things is more hopeless than ever. The official

statistics are published in several Austro-Hungarian journals and fully in the Official Journal at Belgrade, the Belgradske Novine. There it was stated that the Serbian population in the territories occupied by Austria-Hungary a year ago was only 2,218,027. The population normally would have been 3,170,000. There is, therefore, a reduction of 951,973, or 28.2 per cent. The male population has been reduced by 38.3 per cent. In some towns this percentage is much greater. At Belgrade it is 65.6 per cent.; at Chebatz 47.6 per cent. There are now in Serbia 144 women to 100 men. At Belgrade even the female population has gone down by 21.6 per cent.

In the *Segedi Naplo* of Aug. 2, 1917, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Segedine states that the difference between the official Serbian statistics of 1910 and the returns now made by the Bulgarians in the territories they occupy is 300,000. The same authority states that all the males from 18 to 60 are away from their homes. In 1910 the population of Serbia was 4,300,000. It is now reduced by 1,352,000. Then there are the massacres committed by the Bulgarian military authorities after a revolt of the Serbian people against enforced recruiting. The revolt was crushed in blood. Those left were deported. This fact is admitted by the Bulgarian War Minister in the document sent to the Bulgarian Headquarters, (No. 763, May 20, 1917, Sofia.)

Dr. Otokar Ribar, the Austrian Reichsrat Deputy, declared in the Vienna Parliament on June 26 last: "Serbia will be saved, but there will no longer be Serbs." He said these words when protesting against the greatest crime committed in this war, the deportation of 30,000 Serbian women, children, and men from the departments of Vranje, Nish, and Pirot, and their internment in Asia Minor. Fugitives relate that, among those 30,000, there were 8,000 women and young girls delivered over to the Turks. Of these a great number courted death by throwing themselves out of the trains conveying them to Asia Minor. War prisoners and those interned are suffering actual martyrdom. They are ravaged by hunger and disease. Their number decreases daily. The deaths are put by all at 60,000, by some as high as 80,000. After the retreat from Serbia, and during the reconstitution of the Serbian Army, quite 20 per cent. died at Corfu. Our losses on the Saloniki front have been about 50 per cent. of the Serbian forces which have taken part in the operations of General Sarrail's armies.

Imagine, then, the state of mind of those surviving in France and near Saloniki who receive every day letters from their families remaining in Serbia appealing

for bread, and money to buy bread; requests, too, from prisoners and those interned, who cry: "Send us bread, or you will not see us again alive." Unfortunately, very little is done to help our population. The Swiss Central Committee at Geneva sent provisions to the value of something over £11,000 in 1916. Seven hundred thousand kilogs. of maize were brought from Rumania, but of this quantity only 200,000 kilogs. have been milled. The American Committee has sent twenty-two wagons of provisions, clothing, and boots. This is all for last year. From last October our Government began to send regularly £6,000 a month for the entire population of Serbia. What is this among 2,000,000 people?

Starvation in Montenegro

The following statement was duly sworn and attested before the American Consul at Bordeaux by a native of Montenegro, who, as an American subject, was able to leave that country before war was declared by the United States:

I, Sabonovic John, American citizen, of Montenegrin origin, was born in Montenegro March 13, 1886, at Grahovo, Montenegro, and I went to the U. S. 1906, where I stayer until 1914, when I returned to Montenegro in April to get my wife at Cettinje, staying there for three years until 2 May, 1917. During this time I visited Grahovo on 26 April, 1917, when I saw 182 persons, women, children, &c., die in twelve days because of lack of food, there being no food in the country whatever except a mixture of grass and millet, and not enough of that. The people have eaten up all the dogs, &c., they can find; Nicksich city is like this, also Drobnjoci, Piva, and Klasin, and all the people are in the same conditon, rich as well as poor, as money will not buy food.

I believe there are certainly 200 people a day dying of famine in the country. The Austrian authorities allow each person in Cettinje to buy 10 "dek" of cornmeal a day, (a handful about,) so the situation there is a little better than in the rest of the country, where no such food can be bought. I believe that there are but two battalions of Austrian soldiers, one in Cettinje and the other spread around the country, in all Montenegro, and about 20,000 in Albania, Scutari, and Droc, which are all I know of.

The soldiers treat the population badly, making all the men work on the roads, and if from fatigue or thirst a man stops work to rest or drink he is shot on the spot. Work is about ten or twelve hours a day, and pay of 2 kronen paper a day. A person in 1916 (there is no food now) would buy something to sell, food, &c., and soldiers would take it without money.

They treat the people better in Cettinje than other places, but everywhere the people are too poor and badly nourished to try to revolt. The Austrian soldiers in the country are perhaps more badly nourished than the people, and I have seen in the same villages above mentioned myself, from March until May 2, 1917, 200 soldiers, Austrians, die of starvation in Cettinje alone. The men on the front are a little better than those in the interior, but there they are also dying of starvation, as from time to time soldiers return from the front in starved condition.

The Governor of Montenegro, von Webber, who stays at Cettinje in the King's house, is a civilian, and does not try to misuse the people, the reason the condition of the population in the capital

is better than that in the rest of the country, perhaps. I believe that from 10,000 to 15,000 persons have died of starvation in Montenegro. I am sure that the Austrians can get no food, as they are dying, and also the soldiers talk to the population and tell them that they know the war cannot last more than a month or two more, as we ourselves can get nothing to eat.

All the country is in the same impoverished, starving, and subject condition, the only city a little better than the others being Cettinje, above stated.

I hereby certify that the above statements are all true and correct to my best knowledge, and that I actually saw and know the things which I have related above.

What Is Meant by "Freedom of the Seas"

F. Seston Delmer, late English Lecturer in Berlin University, recently gave a London paper the following account of a lecture delivered by Count zu Reventlow and never reported in the German press:

During my recent stay in Berlin I heard the words "Freiheit der Meere" bandied about often enough, and reams of newspaper sermons were preached on the text. In a Socratic vein I asked various Germans of my acquaintance what the expression really meant, but I could never get a satisfactory answer.

In England the man in the street takes the term to mean freedom for the Germans to coal at our ports in times of peace and to run in and out of our harbors in the same uncontrolled fashion as before the war. The jurist, on the other hand, says that the term can evidently not apply to times of peace, but can only mean that the German wishes us to forfeit our right of search and blockade in time of war.

Count zu Reventlow, however, at a great public meeting in March, 1917, in the Berlin Philharmonic Hall, gave quite a different interpretation, and as everything he said that evening had been memorized from a carefully censored manuscript, not a word of which he would have been allowed to utter unless his ex-

planation had been in harmony with the ideas of the Government, I think I am justified in calling the following definition the official one:

"What do we Germans understand by "the freedom of the seas?" he said. "Of course we do not mean by it that "free use of the sea which is the common privilege of all nations in times of "peace, the right to the open highways "of international trade. That sort of "freedom of the sea we had before the "war. What we understand today by "this doctrine is that Germany should "possess such maritime territories and "such naval bases that at the outbreak "of a war we should be able, with our "navy ready, reasonably to guarantee "ourselves the command of the seas. We "want such a jumping-off place for our "navy as would give us a fair chance of "dominating the seas and of being free "of the seas during a war. [Cheers.] "The inalienable possession of the Belgian seaboard is therefore a matter of "life and death to us, and the man is a "traitor who would faint-heartedly relinquish this coast to England. Our "aim must be not only to keep what our "arms have already won on this coast, "but sooner or later to extend our seaboard to the south of the Strait of "Calais."

The Attempted Restoration of the Manchus in China

By W. Reginald Wheeler

Professor of English in the Christian College at Hangchow, China

Professor Wheeler is an American, a graduate of Yale, with a degree from Harvard as well. He is at present the head of the English department of Hangchow Christian College.

ON July 1, 1917, in the sixth year of the Chinese Republic, Chang Hsun, a provincial Governor and a "war lord" of the most extreme type, proclaimed from Peking that he had overthrown the existing Government and had restored the Manchus to the throne. On July 4 practically the entire country voiced its "declaration of independence" from this Manchu Government; on July 14 the victorious republican Generals entered the capital. This opposition and this victory of the Chinese republicans took place on the independence days of the American and the French republics; the coincidence is both significant and symbolical, and the story of the struggle is one of vital interest to republicans of both Orient and Occident.

The apparent cause of the breakup of the republican Government was the disagreement over the declaration of war against Germany; other issues involved a contest between the President and Premier, and the Parliament and Military Governors. But, fundamentally, the present situation is the outcome of the struggle which has been going on ever since the establishment of the republic; the contest between monarchists and republicans; between militarists and democrats. As C. T. Wang, Vice President of the Senate and a graduate of Yale, has put it: "The real issues are: Shall there be government by law or by force? Shall the will of the people as expressed through the Assembly prevail, or that of a privileged few? Shall the military forces of the nation be used to uphold the country, or to uphold certain individual Generals? Upon these issues the country and the free and democratic nations of the West should be called

"upon to pass judgment." These issues made this situation in Asia a part of the great world situation into which America has entered as one of the champions of freedom and law.

China and Germany

The account of China's relation with Germany since the latter's submarine declaration on Feb. 1 is rather complicated. On Feb. 4 the American Minister, Dr. Reinsch, notified the Foreign Minister that his Government had already severed relations with Germany, and requested the Chinese Government to follow the United States in its protest. Peking responded, and on Feb. 9 formally protested to Germany. The note concluded with a declaration of its intention of severing diplomatic relations if the protest were ineffectual. The immediate answer of Germany was to torpedo the French ship *Atlas* in the Mediterranean on which were over 700 Chinese laborers. On the evening of March 10 the German Government definitely replied, but on that very afternoon Parliament had empowered the Government to break with Germany.

The rupture occurred on March 14 at noon; the German Minister and his staff were handed their passports, and German interests were turned over to the Dutch Legation. The mildness of Germany's note of March 10 was rather a surprise to inhabitants of China, who remembered the seizure of Tsing-tau in 1898, and the appropriation of Shantung as the result of the murder of two German missionaries, and the ruthlessness of the German troops at the time of the Boxer uprising. A leading Chinese lawyer commented thus on the change of attitude:

The troops under Count Waldersee, leaving Germany for the relief of Peking, were instructed by the War Lord to grant no quarter to the Chinese; on the other hand, the latter were to be so disciplined that they would never dare look a German in the face again. The whirligig of time brings its own revenge, and today, after the lapse of scarcely seventeen years, we hear the *Vossische Zeitung* commenting on the diplomatic rupture between China and Germany, lamenting that even so weak a State as the Far Eastern republic dares look defiantly at the German Nation!

The breaking off of relations with Germany brought to light the state of discord which had existed for some time between the Premier, Tuan Chi-jui, and the President, Li Yuan-hung. The former is a military leader and has been trained in the Manchu type of government. The latter is a real republican in spirit and has insisted that every act of the State be carried out according to the existing Constitution. The Premier desired to break off relations without consulting Parliament; the President insisted on the latter step, and after Tuan had threatened to resign, and had actually left the capital for Tientsin, the President persuaded him to return and to present the question to Parliament. This was done with the result already indicated.

China's Distrust of Japan

Having taken two steps, the next move was to declare war. Here, however, appeared many difficulties. It is hard for a foreigner to judge Chinese public opinion, but after a trip through the coast cities and 800 miles into the interior as far as Chang-sha, the following factors seem to me to be involved:

The Chinese sympathize as a whole with the professed aims of the Allies, but they cannot reconcile with those aims the action of one of the allied nations—Japan. In the Orient, in Chinese eyes, Japan has stood for all that Germany, as depicted by its worst enemies, stands for. Japan's action in Korea, including the Korean conspiracy, and its present Government there; the taking of Tsing-tau in the Fall of 1914 and its retention after having publicly declared an opposite purpose; in 1915 the serving of the Twenty-one Demands, especially Group V.; and last Fall the demands following the Cheng

Chiatung affair in Manchuria—all these acts in Chinese eyes cannot be reconciled with the oft-repeated declaration that the Allies are fighting for the rights of small or weak nations and that each nation may shape its own Government and destiny. The present Terauchi Government professes to be friendly to China, but the Chinese feel that such a friendly attitude now cannot be reciprocated, unless reparation and restitution are made for the acts of the past. This is the program of the Allies in Europe: the Chinese cannot understand why such a program should not be applied in Asia. Accordingly there is a feeling of distrust, fear, and hatred in Chinese hearts for Japan that can hardly be overstated. And that is the chief obstacle to its belief in the aims of the Allies.

Other factors are a realization that their own military power is slight, and a fear of "losing face" by comparison with the Allies; the fear that food prices will increase; the devotion to peace, which is deep rooted in the nation; and finally the policy of "proud isolation," which until recent years has marked all China's relations with other nations. It is a long step for a people ruled for centuries by an alien dynasty to attempt republican self-government; it is an almost incredible act for China as a whole to grasp the present world situation and to take its proper place in relation to it.

Other Factors Against War

Added to these main factors are minor ones: the fact that Germany, despite its harsh treatment in the past, has energetically and nicely carried on a propaganda in the East, supplying military aids and arms to the Chinese Army, and sending out Consuls and diplomatic officers who are scholars in Chinese literature and philosophy with sufficient funds to entertain Chinese officials as they like to be entertained; on the other hand, the Allies have at various times, perhaps unconsciously, offended the Chinese. The opium trade, carried on by citizens of the British Empire; the recent Lao-Hsi-Hai affair in the North, where French officials attempted to appropriate property which the Chinese thought was theirs; the advice of the

American adviser, Dr. Goodnow, to return to the monarchy; the ineffectual enforcement of the "open door" treaty, which practically all the Allies, including Japan, have signed—all these facts have tended to produce a pessimism in the minds of Chinese regarding idealistic words which seem to be unbacked by deeds. This pessimism seems to be shared by many of the younger, foreign-educated leaders in regard to the favorable outcome of the conference at the close of the war—to many it seemed immaterial whether or not China should have a voice in that council. A final complication was the struggle between the military party and the democrats, each fearing to have the other gain the power which would accrue to it if it were in control when war was declared.

Despite all these difficulties, it seemed fairly certain that the "third step" would be taken in due time. Thus, on April 16, following the detention of the Chinese Minister at Berlin, the Peking Gazette, the most influential of the papers published by the Chinese, requested an early decision. But at this point the Premier thought fit to summon a council of Military Governors and their representatives to hasten the decision of the country, and the ultimate consequences were disastrous.

The outline of events was somewhat as follows: The conference met April 25. After much arguing and exhorting, the majority of the conference were won over to the view of the Premier. But signs of opposition on the part of the Parliament against the Premier and his supporters began to develop. There was also the feeling that the Premier had promised certain returns from the Allies, such as increase of the Chinese customs duties, and relief from the Boxer indemnity, but that on account of the opposition of Japan, and for other reasons, these returns could not be secured.

Parliament Threatened by Mobs

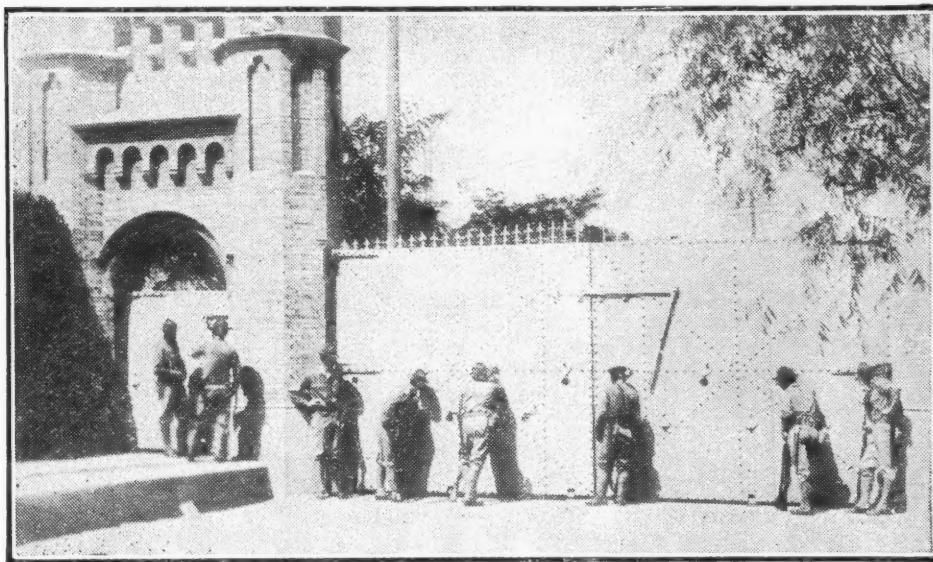
On May 1, however, the Cabinet passed the vote for war without asking conditions or returns, and on May 7 the President, through the Cabinet, sent a formal request to Parliament to approve of this declaration. Parliament delayed, and

then, on May 10, an attempt was made to force it into a decision by a mob which gathered outside the National Assembly and threatened the members of both houses. There seems to be little doubt that some official of the Government had incited and promised protection to the mob, as it collected at 10 o'clock in the morning, and was not dispersed until 11 at night, when the report was circulated that a Japanese journalist had been killed. The Peking Gazette openly accused the Premier of being behind the riot. Telegrams from all parts of the country poured in protesting against this attempted coercing of Parliament; all the Ministers of Tuan's Cabinet resigned, leaving him standing alone.

On May 18, the Peking Gazette, edited by Eugene Chen, a Chinese born and educated in England and a British subject, a brave opponent of Yuan Shih-kai and his monarchical schemes, and a staunch supporter of the republic, published an article entitled "Selling China," in which it accused the Premier of being willing to conclude with the Japanese Government an agreement which much resembled Group V. of the Twenty-one Demands of 1915. That night Mr. Chen was arrested, and later, without any fair trial, he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. The case stirred up much comment, and finally, as a result of the intercession of C. T. Wang and others, on June 4, the President pardoned him.

Military Governors Revolt

In the meanwhile events were marching swiftly. The contest between militants and democrats was clearcut. Demands were made for Tuan's retirement from the Premiership; his military friends on the other hand urged his remaining in office. On May 19 the decision was reached in Parliament that there was a majority for war, but that the question would not be decided while Tuan was Premier. The Military Governors left on May 21 amid much speculation and some fear as to their future action. Before going they sent a petition to the President, indirectly attacking Parliament, by criticising the Constitu-



UNITED STATES SOLDIERS GUARDING THE LEGATION AT PEKING

tion which it had practically finished and asking that Parliament be dissolved if the Constitution were not corrected. The three points to which they objected were:

(1) When the House of Representatives passes a vote of lack of confidence in the Cabinet Ministers, the President shall either dismiss the Cabinet or dissolve the House of Representatives, but the said House must not be dissolved without the approval of the Senate. (The French system.)

(2) The President can appoint the Premier without the countersignature of the Cabinet Ministers.

(3) Any resolution passed by both houses shall have the same force as law.

Obviously these three points give more power to the President and to Parliament than an autocratic Premier and his supporters would desire. The answer to this petition was an increased demand for the retirement of Tuan and the formation of a new Cabinet. The Premier refusing to resign on May 23, the President dismissed him from office. Wu Ting-fang was appointed acting Premier, and there was a feeling of relief. Li Ching-hsi, nephew of Li Hung Chang, was nominated on May 25 for Premier, and on May 28 his nomination was passed by the House of Representatives, 388 to 56, and next day by the

Senate, 166 to 25. On May 30, C. T. Wang, Chairman of the Committee for Writing the Permanent Constitution, published a statement saying that the second reading was practically finished and reviewing the chief points of interest in the new document ready for promulgation.

The Chinese ship of state seemed to have weathered another of its many storms. But suddenly rumor came from Anhwei that General Ni Shih-ching had declared independence, and that he was backed by most of the other Northern Generals and Governors, who, as Putnam Weale put it, looked upon Parliament and any Constitution it might work out as "damnable Western nonsense, the real, essential, vital, decisive instrument of Government in their eyes being not even a responsible Cabinet, but a camailla behind that Cabinet which would typify and resume all those older forces in the country belonging to the empire and essentially militaristic and dictatorial in their character." This declaration of result was received without approval by the people of the country. I talked with men from many sections of the country and they all agreed that the Military Governors had no definite ideal

or purpose except their own glory and power.

The President's Answer

All waited for the President to speak. His answer to this defiance came in no uncertain tones and was received by patriots with enthusiasm. Would that he had maintained the same stand throughout the ensuing events! Some of the more important passages in his message were:

It is a great surprise to me that high provincial officials could have been misled by such rumors into taking arbitrary steps without considering the correctness or otherwise of the same. * * * You accuse the Cabinet of violating law, yet, with the assistance of a military force, you endeavor to disobey the orders of the Government. The only goal such acts can lead to is partition of the country like the five Chi and making the country a protectorate like Korea; in which case both restoration of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic will be an idle dream. You may not care for the black records that will be written against you in history, but you ought certainly to realize your own fate. * * *

I am an old man. Like the beanstalk under the leaf I have always been watching for any possibility of not seeing and understanding aright. Yea, I walk day and night as if treading on thin ice. I welcome all for giving me advice and even admonition. If it will benefit the country I am ready to apologize.

But if it be your aim to shake the foundations of the country and provoke internal war, I declare that I am not afraid to die for the country. I have passed through the fire of trial and have exhausted my strength and energy from the beginning to the end for the republic. I have nothing to be ashamed of. I will under no circumstance watch my country sink into perdition, still less subject myself to become a slave to another race.

Of such acts I wash my hands in front of all the elders of the country. These are sincere words from my true heart and will be carried out into deeds.

LI YUAN-HUNG.

May 31, 1917.

Southern Provinces Loyal

Following the declaration of independence of the northern provinces, most of the southern ones declared their opposition to this stand. They were led by Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwantung, and Kwangsi, who originally opposed the monarchical movement of Yuan Shih-kai

last year. Some of the loyal Generals' telegrams were hotly worded. From Tang Chi-yao, Governor of Yunnan:

Chi-yao is unpolished in thoughts and ignorant of the ways of partisanship or factionism. All he cares and knows about is to protect the republic and be loyal to it. If any one should be daring enough to endanger the Chief Executive or Parliament, I vow I shall not live with him under the same sky. I shall mount my steed the moment order is received from the President to do so.

From a General in Kwantung:

The reason why the rebels have risen against the Government is that they are fighting for their own posts and for money. That is why their views are so divergent and their acts so ill-balanced. It is hoped the President will be firm to the very last and give no ear either to threat or inducement. This is the time for us to sweep away the remnants of the monarchist curse and reform the administration. With my head leaning against the spear I wait for the order to strike and I will not hesitate even if I should return to my native place a corpse wrapped up in horse-skin!

Friendly Warning from America

The military party nevertheless met at Tientsin and elected Hsu Shih-chang, Generalissimo. But soon signs of dissension appeared among them. On June 7 was made public a friendly warning from America. The American Minister, Dr. Reinsch, transmitted the following message to Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

The Government of the United States learns with the most profound regret of the dissension in China and desires to express the most sincere desire that tranquillity and political co-ordination may be forthwith re-established.

The entry of China into war with Germany—or the continuance of the status quo of her relations with that Government—are matters of secondary consideration.

The principal necessity for China is to resume and continue her political entity, to proceed along the road of national development on which she has made such marked progress.

With the form of government in China, or the personnel which administers that government, the United States has an interest only in so far as its friendship impels it to be of service to China. But in the maintenance of China by one central united and alone responsible government, the United States is deeply inter-

ested, and now expresses the very sincere hope that China, in her own interest and in that of the world, will immediately set aside her factional political disputes, and that all parties and persons will work for the re-establishment of a co-ordinate government and the assumption of that place among the powers of the world to which China is so justly entitled, but the full attainment of which is impossible 'in the midst of internal discord.'

This was welcomed by Chinese as a pledge to support the Central Government. By the Japanese it was received with varying degrees of disapprobation and suspicion, the chief grievance being that Japan had not been consulted beforehand.

The President Weakens

On June 9 an ultimatum was sent from Tientsin either by Chang Hsun or by Li Ching-hsi, threatening to attack Peking if Parliament was not dissolved. The President was isolated and members of Parliament and other democrats could not reach him. Rumor reported that he was about to give in and dissolve Parliament. The British adviser to the Chinese Government advised him not to do so. The Japanese adviser gave the opposite counsel. Wu Ting-fang, Acting Premier, refused to sign the mandate. Finally, on June 12, the mandate was issued, countersigned by General Chiang Chao-tsung, commander of the Peking gendarmerie. The next day an explanation was made by President Li in which he admitted he was forced to issue the mandate against his will, but that he did it to save Peking and the country from war and destruction. He declared he would resign as soon as opportunity came.

On June 15 Chang Hsun arrived in Peking with Li Ching-hsi. Eight of the provinces that week canceled their independence, stating that their desire for the dissolution of Parliament had been satisfied. The members of Parliament made their way, many of them in disguise, to Shanghai and there held meetings and sent out manifestoes. Affairs were apparently at a standstill with the country thus divided when the great coup d'état was carried out by Chang Hsun. Affairs thereupon moved swiftly.

On June 30 Kang Yu-wei, a known advocate of the monarchy, arrived in

Peking. He had traveled incognito from Shanghai. His first visit was to Chang Hsun. On July 1 at 4 A. M. Chang Hsun and his suite called on the Manchu boy Emperor and informed him of his restoration, and seated him on the throne. President Li Yuan-hung was requested to resign, but refused. He was then practically held prisoner. Numerous imperial edicts were issued, countersigned by "Chang Hsun, member of the Privy Council."

On July 3 Feng Kuo-chang repudiated any connection with the restoration, his name having appeared in the edicts as one of the petitioners. The Military Governor of Canton issued proclamations that the Cantonese would fight to maintain the republic. Many similar messages were sent by other provinces. Japanese troops proceeded to the Forbidden City, took President Li Yuan-hung out of the custody of Chang Hsun's men and escorted him to the Japanese Legation. On July 4 the President issued a pledge to fight for the republic. On July 5 hostilities broke out at Lang Fang on the Peking-Tientsin railway. General Tsao Kun arrived at Liulihuo with 10,000 troops en route to Peking. The diplomatic body notified the Peking authorities that the Protocol of 1901 providing for open railway communication between Shanhaikwan and Peking must be observed. On July 5 trains out of Peking were packed to overflowing with Chinese fleeing to Tientsin. A special train with a foreign detachment was stopped at Lang Fang by a republican General, who requested the passengers to turn back, as Chang Hsun's troops had torn up the tracks a mile further on.

By this time the entire country, with the exception of three provinces, had declared its opposition to the Manchu movement. Tuan Chi-ju came out of his retirement, offering to take command of the republican army. Liang Chi-chao, who was such a force against Yuan Shih-kai, denounced the whole movement.

The Battle at Peking

The republican troops advanced upon Peking, and on July 7 American, Japanese, and British soldiers arrived at the capital, after having been detained at

Fengtai, where firing between the opposing Chinese forces was in progress; several bullets struck the train, and a Japanese postman was injured. An airplane later dropped a bomb over Fengtai station and wrecked the shed. Chang Hsun's troops at Paoma Chang retired inside the capital without fighting and concentrated at the Temple of Heaven. Another airplane flew over the Forbidden City and dropped bombs. Chang Hsun, on July 8, resigned, but the abdication of the Emperor was not published, his protector holding out for favorable terms.

Vice President Feng Kuo-chang assumed the office of Acting President at Nanking, which was declared the capital of the Provincial Government. Dr. Wu Ting-fang arrived in Shanghai with the seal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although on July 9 the Premier announced that he was dismissed from office. Several Ministers of the Manchu Cabinet on this day were captured while attempting to escape. Chang Hsun refusing to surrender and 50,000 republican troops having surrounded Peking, on July 12, at 4 A. M., the attack was begun in earnest. The battle continued nine hours. Several foreigners were wounded; fire broke out in the Forbidden City; Chang Hsun took refuge in the Dutch Legation, and the republican flag was raised over the Forbidden City. Several thousand of Chang Hsun's troops surrendered and were disarmed and sent back to Hsucowfu.

On July 13 Chang Hsun's troops offered to surrender their arms upon payment of \$80,000. General Tuan Chi-jui accepted the offer by telegraph and arranged for a temporary loan from the Yokohama Special Bank to make the payment. Chang Hsun's internment came about by his visit to the Legation Quarter, which is neutral territory. He was trying to arrange for mediation. On July 14 Tuan Chi arrived in Peking. President Li left the Japanese Legation for his private residence. On July 15 Tuan Chi-jui assumed the office of Premier, though the southern provinces showed opposition to him. On July 16 Li Yuan-hung

entered the Peking French Hospital. Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his party arrived in Canton from Swatow. In an interview he stated it was desirable that the southwestern provinces should be joined together for the restoration of the Provisional Constitution. On July 17 President Li, in a telegram to the provinces, refused to resume office. Mandates were issued appointing Wang Ta-hsien Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Premier Tuan Chi-jui concurrently Minister of War. The Chin-Pu-Tang Party at Tientsin voted to support the Tuan Government. Acting President Feng Kuo-chang expressed his willingness to succeed Li Yuan-hung.

The present situation still has possibilities of dissension, with the Parliamentarians backed by the southern provinces, and the Kuo-Ming-Tang, or Progressive, Party, opposed to Tuan Chi-jui, and the Chin-Pu-Tang, or Conservative, Party backed by the military Governors. But it has been proved, as one eminent journalist has affirmed, that the monarchy is "stone-dead." The Yuan Shih-kai dynasty lasted eighty-two days, Chang Hsun's lasted eight, and there is no question of the advance of public opinion and popular feeling in this regard.

Duty of the United States

To those who live in the Orient it seems that America is facing both a duty and a danger in this situation of China and Japan—a situation in which a great people is trying to work out a stable republic, with another people by its side avowedly imperialistic in policy and ready to take advantage of any weakness of its neighbor. The duty is to see that the slogan, "The world must be made safe for democracy," is not restricted merely to the Western Hemisphere. The danger is that, if Japan is allowed to control and use China's resources for its own purposes, the battle against militarism must again be waged in the East as it has been fought in the West.

To reveal the Chinese attitude in this regard I will quote, in conclusion, from the recent utterances of Chinese

statesmen and competent foreign critics. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, formerly Minister to the United States, and recently Chinese Secretary of Foreign Affairs, speaking at a tiffin given in his honor by the American University Club on July 13, said:

The war in Europe is being fought to put an end to Prussian militarism; and I want the Americans here to understand that China's present troubles are due to exactly the same causes. We are engaged in a struggle between democracy and militarism. Between 55 and 60 per cent. of the taxes of China are now going to support militarism in China. This must be changed, but the change must be gradual. I ask Americans to be patient and give China a chance. Democracy will triumph. Please be patient with us. Study China and try us from our own point of view instead of your own.

I hope to see the day when the Stars and Stripes and the fire-color flag of China will be intertwined in an everlasting friendship. These nations believe in universal brotherhood; in the rights of the people of small nations to manage their own affairs, as outlined by the great American President in his war declaration. I make this statement with hostility to no nation.

Hon. C. T. Wang, Vice President of the Chinese Senate, spoke in the same vein:

With the strongly ingrained love for democracy and the firm belief in the necessity of subordinating military authority under the civil, in the character of our people, we do not hesitate for a minute to affirm that in China, just as it is in free and democratic nations of the world, constitutionalism shall prevail over militarism. We, like the Entente Allies, have time on our side. We shall have to make the same sacrifices for the final victory of constitutionalism and democracy as they are making in their titanic struggle on the battlefield of Europe. Let us resolve that we will.

In an address delivered before the semi-centennial anniversary of The New York Nation, Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister to the United States from China, said in part:

In the first place, the people of the Far East feel that in any reconstruction which may take place after the war the Far East should be included; that the problems of the Far East should receive due consideration. * * * In the second place, the reflective minds of the Far East feel that not only the problems of the Far East should be given full consideration,

but also the voice of the Far East should be freely heard at the council board of nations. There is, in the third place, yet another thought which is quickening the hearts of a very large portion of the people in the Far East, particularly of the people in China, and that is, that in any reconstruction to take place hereafter, the base of the foundation should be built upon justice, international justice. The people of the Far East in general feel that every act of aggression, wherever arising, should be a matter of concern, not only of the victim and oppressed, but should also be of serious interest to the world at large; for every act of aggression and oppression, unchecked and uncondemned, is sure to react to the detriment of the international society.

Here between China and the United States, for instance, we have a concrete example of how two nations, always basing their mutual intercourse on justice, could get along in cordial relationship and in perfect understanding; more than a century of trade intercourse, eighty-seven years of missionary work, seven decades of diplomatic relations, and nearly half a century of educational co-operation, have all been characterized by a sustained feeling of friendliness and cordiality, so that Chinese and Americans, wherever they meet, can always talk to each other without hidden thoughts and with perfect confidence in the good-will of each toward the other. There is no suspicion or friction between them. The two countries are living in a happy state of friendship that grows from day to day. What two countries have done can be accomplished by the world at large.

The definite assistance which America could give China was described by C. T. Wang, in an article published July 28, in Shanghai. I knew Mr. Wang at Yale. He has had wide acquaintance with American affairs, and in China has stood for all that is best in its Christian and national life. His article deserves careful reading by American friends of China:

In this vital struggle, where shall America, the champion of democracy, stand? We entirely agree with Mr. Milliard in his views expressed through the editorial columns of his paper [Milliard's Review] on July 28, which we will reproduce here for emphasis:

"A primary requisite is that, as between reversion to an archaic monarchy, "or the retention of a military oligarchy, "or a graduated advance toward genuine "republicanism, the influence of the "United States ought to be thrown "definitely to bring about the latter alternative. If this leads to quasi-interfer-

"ence with Chinese politics, then that responsibility must be faced. It is becoming rather ridiculous, at a time when America is engaged in a world war, when the whole life of the American people is being readjusted to meet these war conditions, and with the avowed principal object of saving democratic principles of Government from being smothered by autocratic militarism, that the power and influence of the United States should be applied in one place abroad, and should not be applied in another place abroad; that direct American assistance should be accorded to some nations that are trying to cast off the yoke of autocracy, and be denied to other nations that are making the same effort."

At any rate, neither France nor Great Britain, we take it, would raise any objection to America giving substantial aid to China. By process of elimination Japan is the only power left whose attitude is doubtful. Will she object or will she not, if the United States renews her open-door policy? If she objects and does not wish China to grow strong and united and to establish and develop liberal and democratic institutions, then, as Mr. Milliard has well put it: "It is very important for China to know it, and for the United States to know it." In view of the repeated assurance given both by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Japanese press, we are rather persuaded to believe that if the United States renews the open-door policy at this juncture Japan is likely to fall in with it.

Besides political assistance, America is

also in an excellent position to aid China financially, of which she stands so much in need.

A third way in which America can help China is to bring China a sufficient number of experts who can aid China to establish and develop large industrial plants and factories and to train and bring up a large force of native industrial and technical leaders.

Mr. T. F. Milliard, the foremost journalist and authority on matters in the Far East, on July 21 voiced his idea of America's duty very clearly. With it I will close:

Yes, it is very inconvenient for democracy, at the time when the issue of a world war is narrowing down to a test of the fate of democracy, to have two great nations like Russia and China trying republicanism for the first time, and under precarious conditions; for the difficulties of Russia approximate the internal difficulties of China with republicanism. But just because the local and general conditions are rather unfavorable, and further because of the linking of these experiments with the cause of democracy throughout the world by reason of the war, it becomes virtually impossible for the United States to remain a mere spectator of the course of events in Russia and China. Action to hearten, encourage, and support Russia already has been taken by the United States Government. Action to hearten, encourage, and support China in her effort to maintain a republic ought to be devised and undertaken without delay.

The Surrender of Chang Hsun's Army

A correspondent of The London Times, writing from Peking on July 17, 1917, gave this account of the brief battle that ended the dream of Manchu restoration:

PEKING has a population of a million souls, two-thirds of whom are contained within the three-mile square of the Tartar City and the other third within its southern attachment, the Chinese City. When 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers choose to fight a battle within so restricted an area it is plain that the inhabitants thereof must taste of the bitterness of death, even though they may happily survive the ordeal. If Peking huddled itself indoors on the night of Wednesday,

June 11, there was reason for it. Chang Hsun had refused to surrender, and the republicans were coming to smoke him out. The Legation Guards and the foreign volunteers were standing by. Foreigners resident outside the Legation quarter were coming in. The streets were filled with police pledged to prevent looting and to protect civilians. In the very dead of night the dread thing began to happen. At the various gates battalion after battalion poured in and filled the streets. Guns were laboriously dragged up the ramps and mounted on the walls. Chang Hsun made no attempt to hold the entrances. He let the enemy close in

upon him on all sides. Despite his reputation as a filibuster, he is a child in the art of war.

The roar of guns waked me while dawn was yet below the horizon. As I tumbled into my clothes I could hear the quivering treble of machine guns and musketry competing with the bass of the artillery. It was no affair of outposts, but a royal bombardment with all arms. The quarter-mile along the Austrian glacis was not pleasant walking, for many bullets near the end of their flight sighed past, some thudding into the walls of the adjacent houses and a few spurting up dust on the road before me. Never a soul to be seen except the police crouching at the corners, feverishly anxious for my company. In the telegraph office I found the whole staff strung up to concert pitch and all the wires down; that is not a witticism, but the melancholy truth. My intention of apprising the world of what was happening almost before it had happened was defeated because of those broken wires. Meanwhile the din was terrific and spent bullets were clattering in the veranda. I climbed to the roof, and there, high above the rest of Peking, I was able to survey the fairest of scenes.

Nothing in sight moved, yet the whole city reverberated to the continuous thunder of a heavy bombardment. Guns posted in the west were shelling a corner of the Imperial City close at hand, where Chang Hsun had his residence, with his men camped round him. His guns were replying in that direction, and firing eastward almost over my head. I could hear the rushing of the projectiles, as it were, screwing their way through a resisting medium. Bullets thinly wailed in the air above, and some thumped disagreeably into the iron roof rising behind me. One with a nasty scrunch took a corner of a brick out of a chimney beside me. There came a new sound, a droning as of a monster bee, rising and falling to the ear, as it reached one through the instable air. Into the blue above sailed an airplane, slowly and persistently pursuing its way. It was heading for Chang Hsun's corner, and I

eagerly watched until there streaked down from it a bomb upon which the sun momentarily gleamed. A roar, and a sudden rising cloud, showed that there had happened somewhere below what is a commonplace to you at home.

Chang Hsun had let himself be divided, half in the Temple of Heaven, half in the Imperial City, within which, in the Purple Forbidden Palace, the little Emperor, his empire hopelessly in the dust, crouched in terror. The two forces were separately attacked in overwhelming numbers, and, despite the handicap on the attackers so to manage that the Legation Quarter and the Manchu Palaces and the swarming, uncomplaining herd of the people might suffer as little as possible, the battle was soon won. The Temple of Heaven was surrounded and commanded by artillery. Rushing in the teeth of machine guns proved dangerous to life, and the besieging General sent men under the white flag to propose terms. The besieged agreed to capitulate, and to surrender their arms on payment of three months' wages, the money to be delivered before nightfall. Visitors later in the day inspecting the scene found royalists and republicans fraternizing, and disputing amicably over their tea as to who were the real winners.

At the Imperial City the attackers captured the eastern gate, and with that in their possession were able to scale the walls and to drive the defenders into the maze of lanes in rear. On the western side Chang Hsun's men were pressed back into the outer courtyard of the Forbidden City. At this juncture Chang Hsun realized the silence around the Temple of Heaven, and, conceiving the game up, went off to the Legation Quarter to ask for mediation. Meanwhile his men, now located where they were difficult to get at without damage to the palaces, kept up a desultory fire that made a noble noise, but constituted no real defense. When they were advised that their leader was detained in the Legation Quarter they surrendered gladly—to the police. Foreign visitors were on the spot to see, almost before the few dead were cold. Two of Chang Hsun's wounded had had their heads cut off. One man had been elec-

trocuted by a falling wire. The telephone wires streamed from the posts like a woman's hair hung out to dry. Chang Hsun's luxurious house was a burned-out shell. His armored motor car had been pierced by many bullets, and the horses of his bodyguard, tethered to a

wall, were strung up by the necks in fantastic positions, dead as mutton.

Now that all is over we know that the total for both sides, and including Chinese and foreign civilians and the legation guards on duty, is 25 killed and 45 wounded.

Japan's New Pledge Regarding China

Statement by Viscount Ishii

CHINA'S suspicions of Japanese aggression, mentioned in the foregoing article by Professor Wheeler, were the subject of an official denial by Viscount Ishii, head of the Japanese Imperial Mission to the United States. In the course of a noteworthy address delivered in New York on Sept. 30, 1917, at the Mayor's banquet in his honor, the Mikado's official spokesman assured his audience that the doors of both Japan and China were always open to Americans, and continued:

In spite of all the effort to make you believe that Japan as she grew stronger was always trying to close the door, I tell you that there never has been an hour when our common sense or our sense of our own responsibility failed us. Why close our door in violation of our pledges, or endeavor to close our neighbor's door, when we are in honor bound to protect it?

The opportunity for you to trade in Japan or China has never been an equal opportunity in its literal sense. As you went far afield and brought us knowledge of the West, taught us how to grow and how to trade, so we, as we gained wisdom, knowledge, and strength, went into other fields to trade and to learn. We went to China, where the door was open to us as to you, and we have always realized that there nature gave us an advantage. There was no need—there is no need—to close that door on you, because we welcome your fair and honest competition in the markets everywhere. We are trading there where we have a natural advantage, and where, unless we are very stupid or very inactive, we are bound to succeed, and we are trading here where your advantage is equally and naturally as great.

I am persuaded that the grumblings and the whisperings about a door closed in China by the Japanese against America did not come from the broad and generous heart of the enterprising American in

New York or elsewhere, but are the result of ten years of an enemy's effort to create prejudice and distrust. Gentlemen, I assure you that a closed door in China has never been and never will be the policy of my Government. The door is open, the field is there. We welcome co-operation and competition, all tending to the betterment of the equal opportunity.

But this propaganda of ill-will has by no means stopped with the persistent cry of "closed door." Much has been written about Japan's policy toward China as being one that sought only the aggrandizement of Japan and the confusion, disruption, or oppression of our neighbor. Here again let me reassure you. The policy of Japan with regard to China has always been the same. We want good government, which means peace, security, and development of opportunity in China. The slightest disturbance in China immediately reacts upon Japan. Our trade there is large and increasing; it is valuable to us, and China is our friendly neighbor—with vast and increasing potentialities for trade.

Circumstances for which we were in no sense responsible gave us certain rights on Chinese territory, but at no time in the past and at no time in the future did we or will we seek to take territory from China or to despoil China of her rights. We wish to be and to always continue to be the sincere friend and helper of our neighbor, for we are more interested than any one else except China in good government there, only we must at all times, for self-protection, prevent other nations from doing what we have no right to do.

We will not only not seek to assail the integrity or the sovereignty of China, but will eventually be prepared to defend and maintain the same integrity and independence of China against any aggressor. For we know that our own landmarks would be threatened by any outside invasion or interference in China.

For many years our common enemy has been the worst enemy of China. Since the outbreak of the war in Europe, China has

been a hotbed of German intrigue, and in all of this China has perhaps been the greatest sufferer. I cannot give you the positive proofs about the German in the Far East as you have had them placed before you by the alert authorities in Washington, but I can give you as my conviction that the German in China is responsible for most of the unfortunate occurrences and the malicious widespread misinformation scattered throughout the world for the purpose of impairing the relations of the countries concerned in China and securing the downfall of China to Germany's advantage.

When Japan or America appeared to make progress in China we always have had sinister rumor of oppression or the false suggestion of a policy directed against the integrity of that country; boycotts which have cost you first of all and then us ill-spared millions; revolution, disturbances, and civil war have prevented a development by which China, first of all, and her honest friends might profit.

The Pacific Ocean is our common highway. It is guarded, and the highway has been swept by our ships of the pirates of the seas, so that our countries' trade may continue and our intercourse be uninterrupted. We guard the Pacific Ocean together with our ships, but more than this, and better than the ships or the men or the guns, is the assurance of the notes exchanged between your Secretary of State, Elihu Root, and our Ambassador Takahira, in 1908, in which it was mutually agreed and "formally resolved to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in the region of the Pacific Ocean." Gentlemen, Japan is satisfied with this. Are you? If so, there is no Pacific Ocean question between us. We will co-operate. We will help and we will hold, each of us, what is guaranteed under that agreement.

This notable utterance was characterized by some newspapers as the declaration of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. In a speech to New York press representatives, two days later, Viscount Ishii said this was inaccurate, and went on to emphasize and clarify his meaning by this further statement:

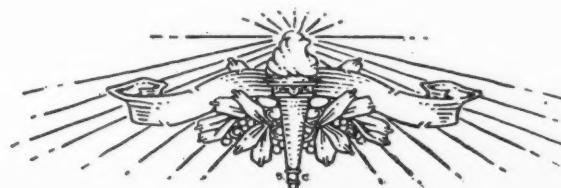
In a speech delivered on Saturday night I made particular reference to the policy of Japan with regard to China. This reference took the form of a repetition of the pledge and promise that Japan would not violate the political independence or territorial integrity of China; would at all times regard the high principle of the open door and equal opportunity. Now I find that this utterance of mine is taken as the enunciation of a "Monroe Doctrine in Asia." I want to make it very clear to you that the application of the term "Monroe Doctrine" to this policy and principle, voluntarily outlined and pledged by me, is inaccurate.

There is this fundamental difference between the "Monroe Doctrine" of the United States as to Central and South America and the enunciation of Japan's attitude toward China. In the first there is on the part of the United States no engagement or promise, while in the other Japan voluntarily announces that Japan will herself engage not to violate the political or territorial integrity of her neighbor, and to observe the principle of the open door and equal opportunity, asking at the same time other nations to respect these principles.

Therefore, gentlemen, you will mark the wide difference and agree with me, I am sure, that the use of the term is somewhat loose and misleading. I ask you to note this with no suggestion that I can or any one else does question the policy or attitude of your country, which we well know will always deal fairly and honorably with other nations.

Ex-President Taft, who was one of the speakers at the Mayor's banquet, referred in these words to the agreement made with Japan by President Roosevelt:

In Mr. Roosevelt's Administration what was called a "gentlemen's agreement" was made with Japan, and in my Administration the treaty then existing was succeeded by another treaty into which was incorporated that same "gentlemen's agreement," and it is only the truth of history to say that that agreement by the gentlemen of Japan has been kept as gentlemen keep agreements.



China's Treatment of Enemy Aliens

K. K. Kawakami, a correspondent of The New York Evening Post, wrote from Tientsin on Aug. 17, 1917:

THIS is a memorable day for China. For the first time since Western powers established extritoriality within her borders, China has ordered two European nations to give up that privilege, at least for the time being. Today 300 Chinese police invaded the German and Austrian settlements in Tientsin, and raised the flag of the Republic of China where till yesterday flew the ensigns of the Governments at Berlin and Vienna. The subjects of the Central Powers, some 300 in number, have accepted the inevitable in a matter-of-fact fashion and have surrendered themselves to the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

The German settlement here measures 650 acres, and that of Austria-Hungary 184 acres. The idea of foreign settlements with extritorial rights originated with the British and the French, who, as early as 1860, secured 950 acres and 250 acres, respectively, for the purpose of establishing in China an imperium in imperio. In 1900, Germany, Japan, Russia, Austria, Italy, and Belgium followed suit. Last year France, by an exhibition of force, succeeded in adding a large area to her original settlement.

Germany's only other settlement in China is that in Hankow, with an area of 506,000 square yards. It is the largest of all foreign concessions in that city, and was established in 1895. This has also been taken over by the Chinese authorities.

Perhaps the greatest source of German influence has been the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank, with its head office at Shanghai and its branches at Tientsin, Peking, Hankow, Canton, Tsing-tao, and Tsinan-fu. Organized in 1889, the bank has been the financing agent in China for the German Government. Among its chief investments, amounting to some hundred million dollars, are: (1) Loan to the Chinese Government for military reform; (2) part of Anglo-German loan to the Chinese Government; (3) part of sec-

ond Anglo-German loan to the Chinese Government; (4) loan for currency reform; (5) part of five-power loan to China; (6) Hu-kwan Railway bond; (7) Tientsin-Pukow Railway bond; (8) second Tientsin-Pukow Railway bond.

When Chinese officials seized the office of the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank, it was found that the funds had been disposed of, only a pittance remaining in the coffers of each office. As the bank is obviously an organ of the German Government, its investments in China, as well as its property, are likely to be confiscated. The following regulations, just issued by the Chinese Government, indicate the course of action it will take in disposing of the interests of the bank:

(1) All moneys deposited in the said bank by the German Government or Government institutions shall be confiscated.

(2) Apart from whatever property or moneys in the said bank which are to be confiscated, the employes of the said bank shall liquidate all other accounts and hand to the Government officials a detailed statement thereof, so that the Government may appoint special officials to seal such property in order that it may be adequately protected.

(3) All loans made to the Chinese Government by the said bank shall no longer be binding on the Chinese Government in case the concessions or rights secured on such loans are controlled by the German Government. In case such rights or concessions are exercised by German civilians, they should be held in abeyance until after the war, and until diplomatic relations between the two countries have been revised.

(4) No payments shall be made on deposits in the said bank by enemy subjects.

At this moment there are at Shanghai six German merchant vessels, with a total tonnage of 15,431, and three Austrian vessels, aggregating 9,491 tons. At Swatow are four German ships, totaling 6,203, and at Amoy one German ship of 1,770 tons. All in all, fourteen vessels, of 32,895 tons, have been seized by the Chinese Government.

Of German employes of the Chinese Government, there are 126, not including German teachers employed in various

Chinese schools. These have already been dismissed, with their salaries paid up to the end of this month. As for German teachers in schools maintained by the Central or Provisional Governments, they will be permitted to remain in their respective posts as long as they live quietly and keep aloof from politics.

While the Britishers and Frenchmen in this part of the world are jubilant over China's entry into the war, they are

dissatisfied with China's decision not to expel or intern all Germans, civilians as well as others, but simply to register them with a view to securing their orderly, peaceful conduct. Roughly estimated, there are about 2,000 Germans in all China—500 in Shanghai, 400 in Hankow, 300 in Tientsin, 200 each in Tsing-tao, and Tsinan-fu, 100 in Peking, and the rest scattered in different parts of the country.

The War Record of the British Dependencies

THE British dependencies, that is, the various crown colonies and protectorates, which are distinct from the self-governing colonies, or dominions, have a war record which, if not so conspicuous as that of the other sections of the British Empire, is none the less remarkable in view of their resources.

The British West Indies have a male population of about 1,040,000 in all, of whom some 150,000 are East Indian coolies. The proportion of Europeans varies from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. Practically every available man went to England to join the army, as is shown by the impossibility of finding European officers for the West Indian contingents. From the negro population, in addition to the two battalions of the old regular West India Regiment, there have been raised contingents forming the British West Indies Regiment, which is drawn from all the West Indian colonies, and is now a very considerable force. There are also local defense forces.

Europeans also returned to England from the Eastern colonies in large numbers to join the new army. Ceylon sent a contingent 230 strong in November, 1914, and has since sent smaller parties home to enlist. In Malaya, which has sent home a very large number of Europeans to join the army, commissions have now been appointed on the lines of the tribunals at home, to decide between volunteers for service and their employers, and similar action is being taken in Hongkong. In spite of the fact that there have been a rising in the Straits

Settlements and very serious riots in Ceylon, these colonies have released their standing garrisons by raising local volunteer forces, and have made, or are making, service compulsory for Europeans. Hongkong did not require compulsion, because every fit man volunteered.

Fiji, out of a total white population of about 4,000, has sent contingents to the British Army of 141 men, besides which about 280 men have joined the Australian or New Zealand expeditionary forces, or have enlisted in England.

Of the smaller non-African colonies Bermuda, out of a population of 6,700 Europeans, has contributed a company to a British regiment and a force of field and garrison artillery from the colored population, besides providing a militia regiment for the garrison. The Falkland Islands and St. Helena have raised volunteer regiments for garrison duty.

The British forces which operated in Togoland and the Cameroons were almost entirely natives of West Africa, and the campaign which ended in the conquest of the Northern Cameroons was carried out by the Nigerian regiment of the West African frontier force. Nigerian troops have been sent to East Africa, and a large number of carriers (for whom there is an urgent demand) are continually going. It is impossible to reduce the garrisons in West Africa below a certain number, as the possibility of local trouble is always present. The number of officers and noncommissioned officers who have had experience with West Afri-

can troops is limited, and to meet the shortage a large number of officials and other civilians with West African experience have been given temporary commissions. Native marine ratings have been recruited in Nigeria for service in Mesopotamia.

The conquest of Togoland, so far as the British share in that achievement is concerned, was carried out singlehanded by the Gold Coast; while the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast all sent contingents to assist in the operations in the Cameroons, (1914-16.) Since then the Gold Coast has sent nearly all its standing military force to East Africa to assist in the operations against the Germans, and the Gambia has sent the whole of the military force that it maintains to the same theatre. The standing military forces of Sierra Leone are being utilized as a garrison for Sierra Leone and the Gambia; other companies have been lent to Nigeria. On the other hand, Sierra Leone is now raising large numbers of carriers for service in East Africa.

Most of the Europeans in these colonies are Government officials (including military officers) and employes of trading and mining firms. As regards the latter class, many have returned to England for service with the army, and others have been drawn upon to accompany combatant troops and carriers to East Africa, or for service with the local garrisons. The East Africa Protectorate was one of the first parts of the empire to adopt the principle of compulsory service. As far as settlers of military age are concerned, more than two-thirds are on military service, while of the European officials some 40 per cent. have rejoined the colors. In Uganda and Ny-

asaland, although the European population is smaller, every available European of military age is on military service. Although the native populations are large, the tribes that are warlike and suitable for fighting material are comparatively scarce. The local native force (other than police) of the three protectorates of East Africa, Uganda, and Nyasaland, is known as the King's African Rifles. They are being fully employed in the operations against German East Africa. In addition, some irregular native troops have been raised in the East Africa Protectorate and Uganda for the local operations, and an immense number of carriers have been recruited. Zanzibar, which was formerly dependent for its garrison on the East Africa Protectorate, has now raised a defense force of its own, and provides for its own safety.

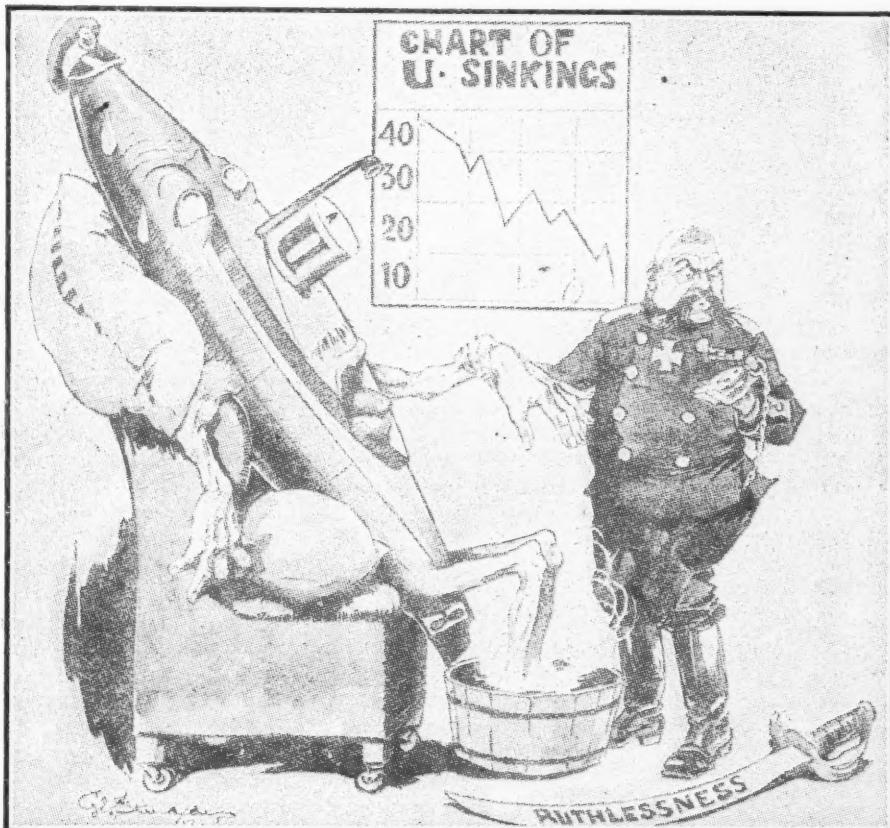
Rhodesia has provided a regiment which participated in the campaign against German Southwest Africa; and another Rhodesian contingent, nearly 1,000 strong, partly recruited in the Union of South Africa, was sent to East Africa, and has been employed in the operations. The Northern Rhodesia police and volunteer forces, and a native Matabele regiment, in addition to several thousand carriers, are also now engaged in the operations against German East Africa from the south, under Brig. Gen. Northey. Moreover, considerable numbers of Rhodesians have gone independently to England and joined British regiments. In a few of the colonies it is "impossible to raise a unit of any military value." In such a case all that can be done is to raise "labor battalions" as and when the military authorities require.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

Growing Weaker



—From *The Passing Show, London.*

The doctor is trying to keep up hope.

[French Cartoons]

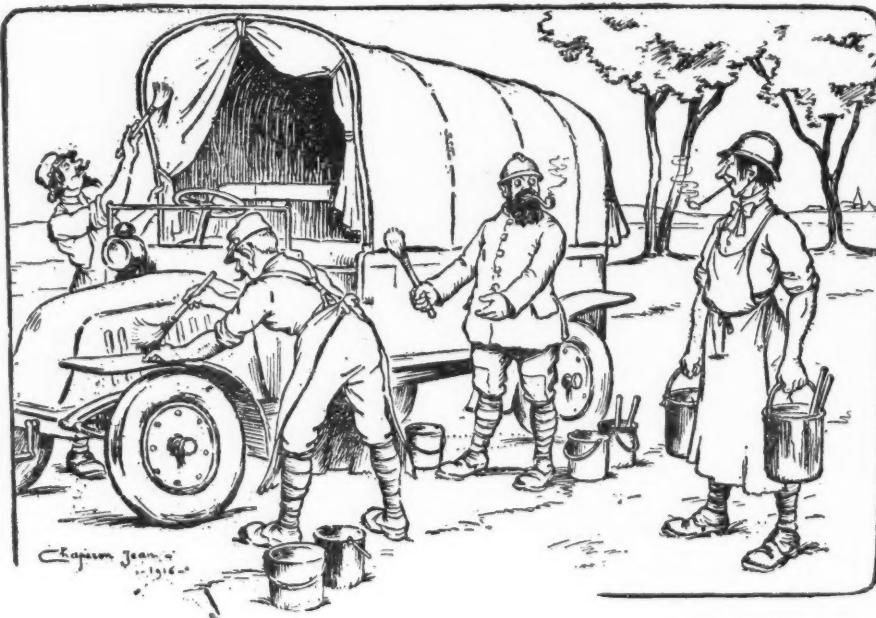
Kerensky



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

It needs a strong grip to drive a chariot of State with such a team.

The Art of Camouflage

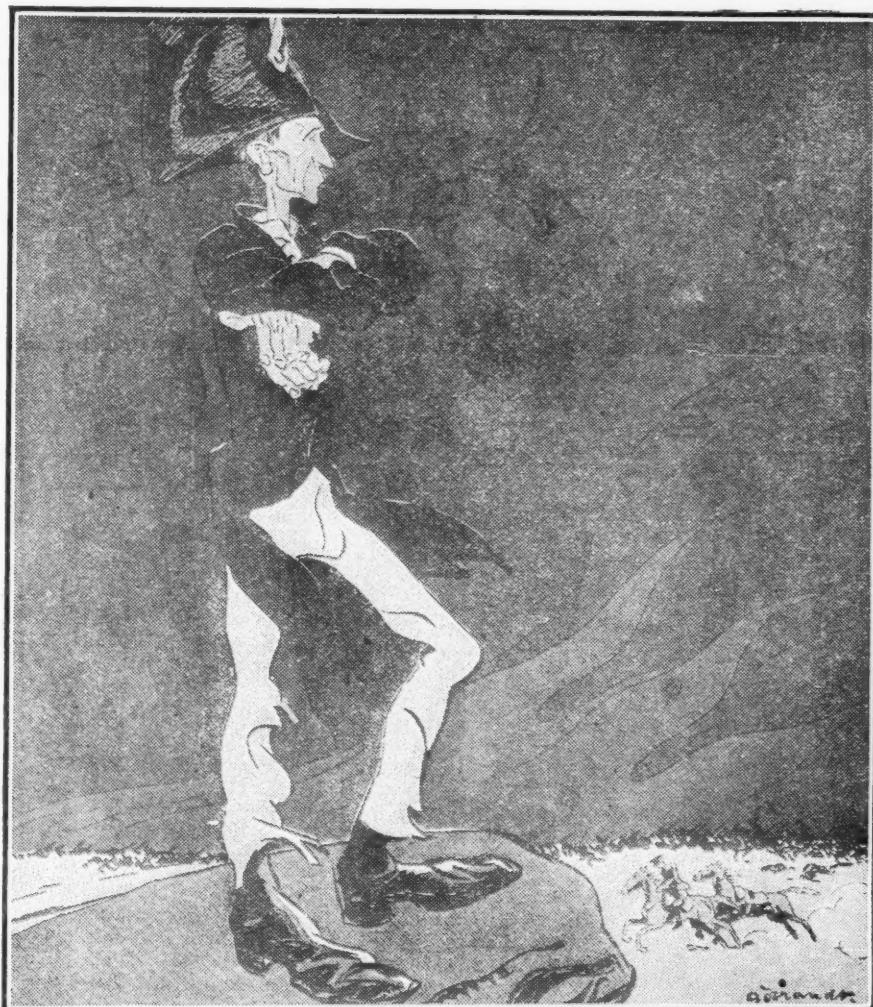


—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"And to think that before the war I was doing miniatures!"

[German Cartoon]

The Russian Napoleon



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

KERENSKY: "This is very unpleasant! My Napoleonic career seems likely to begin with the burning of Moscow."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

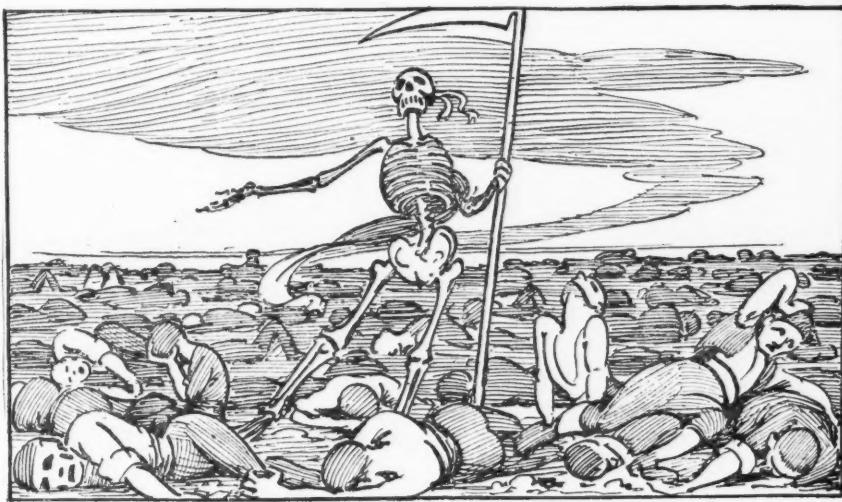
Chancellor Michaelis has to choose between "Disastrous Peace" and "Disastrous War." Which will he take?

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Two Views of Freedom



The people led by Freedom—and



From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The people after they have been led by Freedom.

[English Cartoons]

Forced to Re-tire



—From *The People*, London.

A Blighted Troth



—From *The Sunday Evening Telegram*, London.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Sakes alive! D'you think I'd advise any Old World to hang its chances of peace on the word of a blighter like that?—only chance is to hang hi-m!!"

[American Cartoon]

“What Will You Give for Her?”

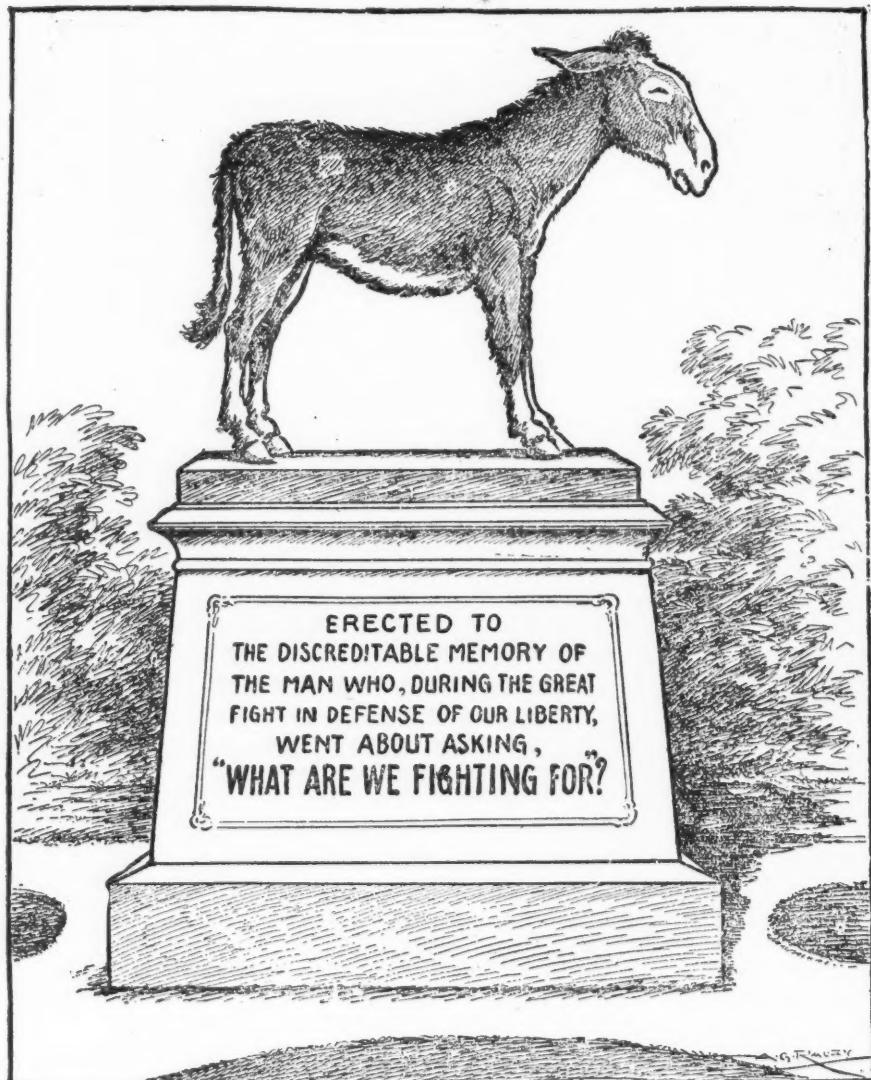


—From *The New York World*.

Germany wants “peace by negotiation.”

[Canadian Cartoon]

Post-Bellum Honors

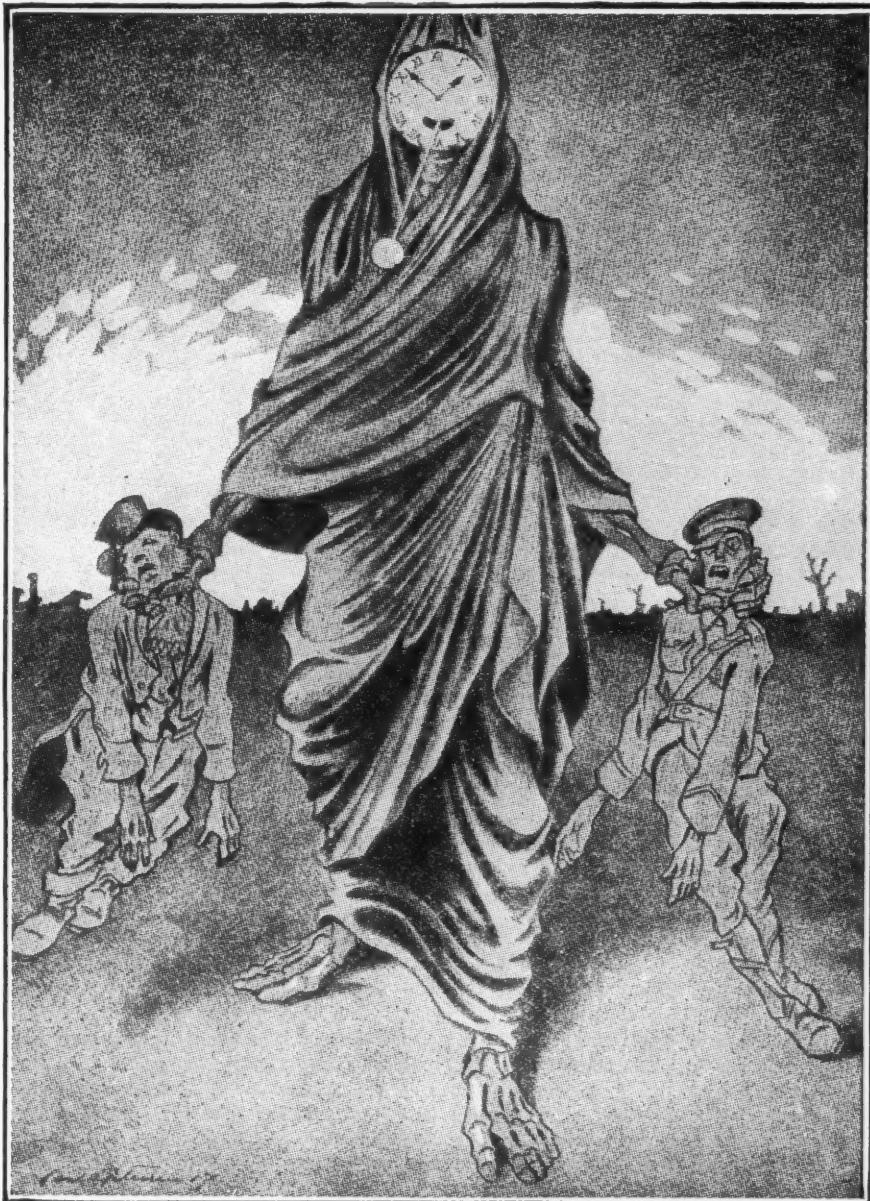


—From *The Halifax Herald*.

A statue to be erected after the war.

[German Cartoon]

Time as England's Ally



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

“She takes such long steps, Tommy—we can't keep up.”

[American Cartoons]

Why We Are Fighting



For the Freedom of the Seas.



For the Republic to Which We Owe Our National Life.



That Conquest Shall Not Enslave Democracy.



That Might Shall Not Enslave Right.

—Robert Carter in Philadelphia Press.

[American Cartoon]
More Power



—From *The New York Times*.
Getting ready for a long run.

[American Cartoon]

Why We Are at War



—From *The Chicago Herald*.

[American Cartoon]

“Drink Up, and Let’s Go”



—From *The Chicago Herald*.

[American Cartoon]

No Joking Matter



—From *The Philadelphia Press*.

THE KAISER: "Don't laugh, son. That's the man who ruined the royalty business."

[American Cartoon]

Kindred Spirits



—Rochester Union and Advertiser.

But the greatest of these is William Hohenzollern.

[English Cartoon]

Easier Said Than Done



—From *The Passing Show, London*.

THE PRESIDENT: "Here is the road to democracy and you will find rest and peace when you reach the top."

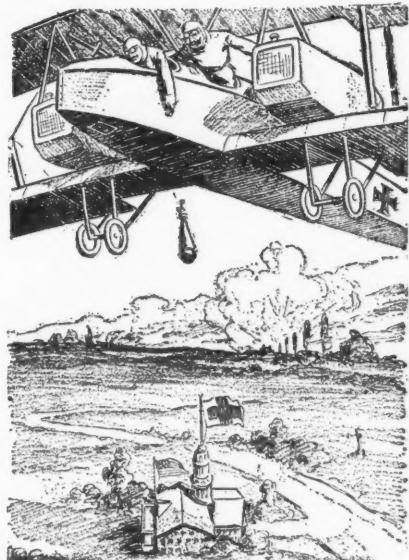
GERMAN PEOPLE: "But that armed man bars the way!"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, just throw him on one side."

[President Wilson's reply to the Pope's Peace Manifesto was to the effect that no negotiations could proceed until the German people adopted democratic institutions and removed their present rulers.]

[American Cartoons]

Wilhelm: "Do Your Worst—
This War May Be Our Last"



—Baltimore American.

"Ach, That Dog, Now He Wants
the Moon!"



—Portland Oregonian.

The Blow Almost Killed Father

Eventually, So Why Not Now?



—Washington Star.



—St. Joseph News-Press.

[American Cartoons]

German Diplomacy



—Chicago Herald.

"I'll Give Up Belgium, See!"



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

William Apologizes



—Birmingham Age-Herald.

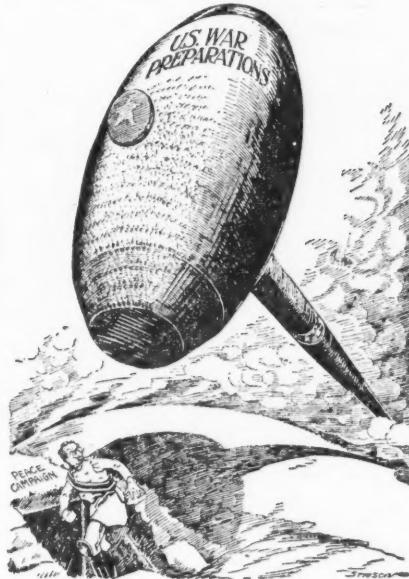
The End of the Trail



—Charleston News and Courier.

[American Cartoons]

Only Yesterday 'Twas But a Speck on the Horizon



—Dayton News.

Argentina Proves That Republics Are Ungrateful



—Dayton News.

They Want the Case Dismissed



—Dallas News.

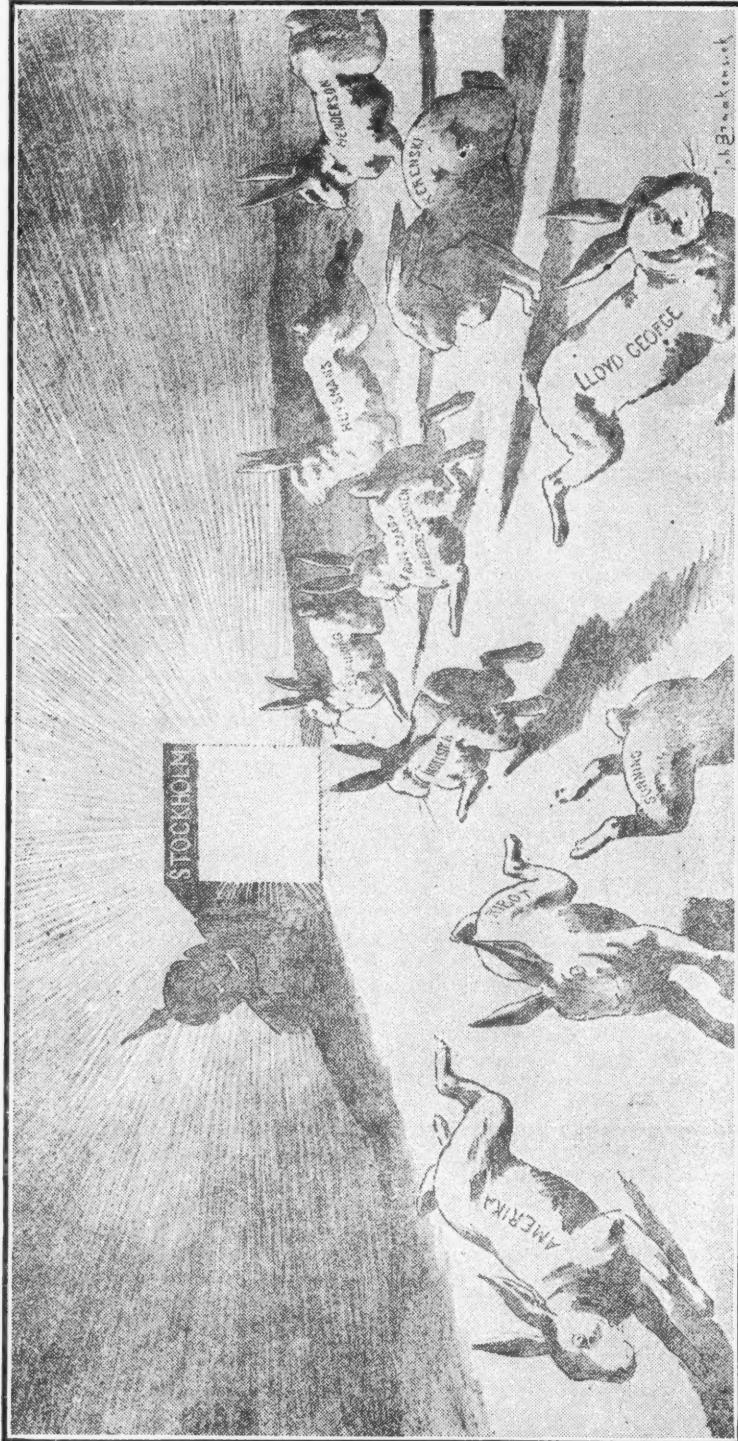
Next!



—Dallas News.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Another Failure—The Stockholm Peace Conference



The game refused to be lured into the trap by the bright light. —*From the Amsterdamer, Amsterdam.*